Saturday Review

75¢

July 10, 1976

A Bicentennial Buffalo Bill
by Judith Crist

Butchery at Sea
by Jacques-Yves Cousteau

The American Business System

Meeting a Crisis of Confidence

An SR Special Report

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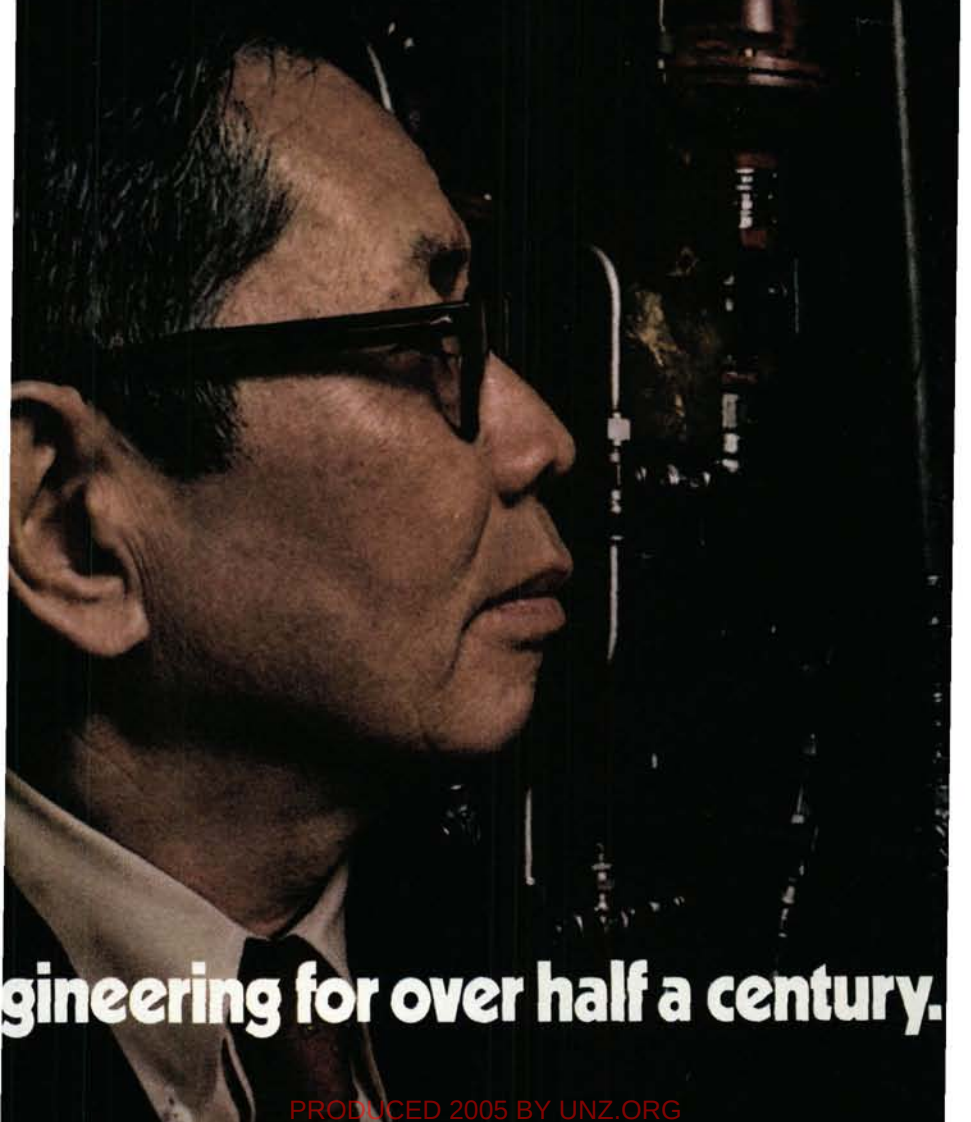

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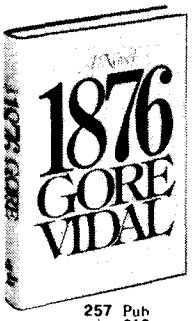

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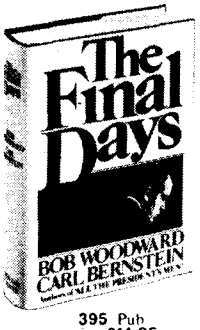

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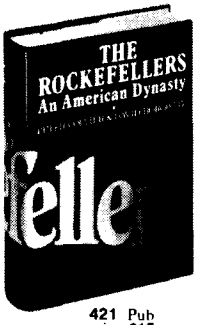

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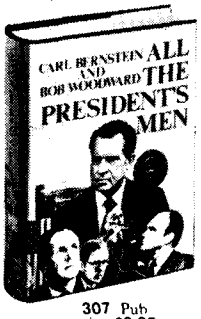

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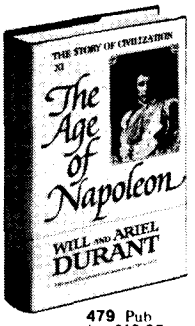

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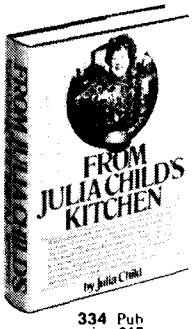

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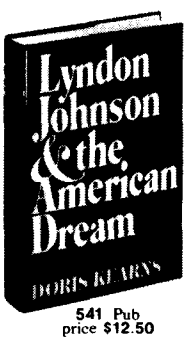

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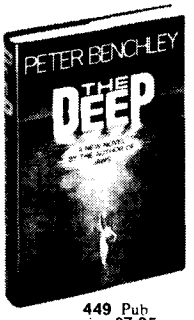

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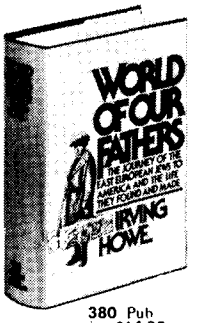

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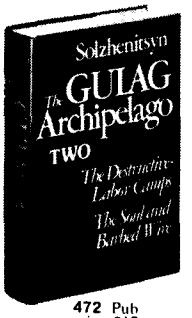

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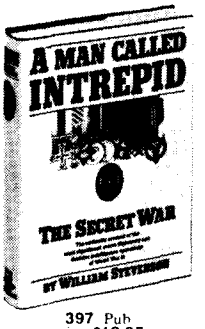

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The PocketCom's range is limited only by its 100 milliwatt power and the number of metal objects between units or from a few blocks in the city to several miles on a lake. Its receiver is so sensitive, that signals several miles away can be picked up from stronger citizens band base or mobile stations.

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To use the PocketCom simply turn it on, extend the antenna, press a button to transmit, and release it to listen. And no FCC license is required to operate it. The PocketCom has two Channels—channel 14 and an optional second channel. To use the second channel, plug in one of the 22 other citizens band crystals and slide the channel selector to the second position. Crystals for the second channel cost $7.95 and can only be ordered after receipt of your unit.

The PocketCom components are equivalent to 112 transistors whereas most comparable units contain only twelve.

A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH

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BEEP-TONE PAGING SYSTEM

You can page another PocketCom user, within close range, by simply pressing the PocketCom's call button which produces a beep tone on the other unit if it has been left in the standby mode. In the standby mode the unit is silent and can be kept on for weeks without draining the batteries.

SUPERIOR FEATURES

Just check the advanced PocketCom features now possible through this new circuit breakthrough: 1) Incoming signals are amplified several million times compared to only 100,000 times on comparable conventional systems. 2) Even with a 60 decibel difference in signal strength, the unit's automatic gain control will bring up each incoming signal to a maximum uniform level. 3) A high squelch sensitivity (0.7 microvolts) permits noiseless operation without squelching weak signals. 4) Harmonic distortion is so low that it far exceeds EIA (Electronic Industries Association) standards whereas most comparable systems don't even meet EIA specification. 5) The receiver has better than one microvolt sensitivity.

EXTRA LONG BATTERY LIFE

The PocketCom has a light-emitting diode low-battery indicator that tells you when your 'N' cell batteries require replacement. The integrated circuit requires such low power that the two batteries, with average use, will last weeks without running down.

The PocketCom can be used as a pager, an intercom, a telephone or even a security device.

MULTIPLEX INTERCOM

Many businesses can use the PocketCom as a multiplex intercom. Each employee carries a unit tuned to a different channel. A stronger citizens band base station with 23 channels is used to page each PocketCom. The results: an inexpensive and flexible multiplex intercom system for large construction sites, factories, offices, or farms.

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Editorial

Forgotten Revolution

"The proper place for America is at the head of the parade, beating out the rhythms of the future"

It is doubtful whether any event in the nation's history has been heralded more resoundingly than the 200th birthday of the Declaration of Independence. For more than three years all sorts of official committees have staged ceremonials and special events. It is difficult to name a community that has not been immersed in Bicentennial activities. Numberless commercial products have attempted to ride into public favor on the momentum of the national observance.

Yet something is missing. The nation has celebrated everything except the Revolution itself. Our minds have been fixed on an auspicious outcome rather than on the reasons behind it. The result has obscured the cause. The vocabulary of rebellion has been curiously muted. It seems as though we are editing our memories, deleting those passages that no longer fit the temper or style of a nation separated from its revolutionary origins.

Has the passion for respectability overtaken the passion to right wrongs? The Founding Fathers, most of them, were not men of reticence and venerable gentility; they were young, full-blooded radicals who had a vision of a better world. They saw America as a good place in which to begin the fulfillment of that vision. We hear a great deal about Thomas Jefferson these days but are not reminded that he was fond of saying that "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of tyrants. It is its natural manure." We lavish all sorts of recognition on the distinguished John Adams, but we give singularly little attention to the firebrand Sam Adams, an insurrectionist whom the English ministry called the "Machiavelli of Chaos" but whom Jefferson regarded as "truly the Man of the Revolution." As for the impassioned Tom Paine, judging by the infrequency with which his name is mentioned, it would seem he has become the forgotten man of the Bicentennial.

The American Revolution has ignited more political and philosophical change in the world than has any other doctrine or ideology, Marxism not excepted. Yet the irony today is that the quest of the Founding Fathers for a new society is perhaps better understood by other peoples than it is by Americans. When the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa came together in 1955 to observe their new station in history, the keynote speaker said he could find no more appropriate theme than "The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere." Yet the United States government shunned an invitation to send an observer, thinking the event too radical.

It is tragic—tragic for us—that we seem to find fulfillment of our national purpose in out-denouncing our detractors. We ought to be rallying people to a great design for managing our planet in the common interest. The proper place for America is at the head of the parade, beating out the rhythms of the future. Instead, we seem to be trailing history, doing the one thing the Founding Fathers were determined that America should never do —separate itself from the majority. The result is that the developing nations in the world today are inspired by our past but not by our present.

Nothing should be more natural today than for the United States to be the champion of the continuing struggle for freedom in the world. But we tend to define freedom not as Franklin defined it—that is, as a dynamic and ongoing obligation—but as a posture or stance. We become detached all too easily from the kinds of human issues that burned in the bellies of the early Americans. We seem to be more interested in maintaining a world balance of power than in creating an interdependent world order. The result is that we have allowed ourselves to become juxtaposed against revolutionary movements in the world. Are revolutions acceptable only when they are neatly tucked away in archives? Do we owe nothing to a heritage? Has the world become so tranquil, so free of abuse, so congenial to life in human form, so shielded in its environment, so abundant in its seed and its fields, that no special tending is necessary?

Does anyone doubt that the American Founding Fathers would urge on the world today a companion doctrine to go along with the one now being celebrated—and that they would call it "A Declaration of Interdependence"? Is there any question that they would regard the anarchy among nations as the principal threat to human freedom? Is it not likely that they would attempt to persuade us that national independence in today's world is possible only in a condition of world interdependence? And that, even though interdependence may not be achievable in our time, the articulation of that goal is where true security begins?

That is why the finest and most significant single thing that has come out of three years of preparation for the Bicentennial is Henry Steele Commager's draft for "A Declaration of Interdependence," prepared under the auspices of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia. He has transported the spirit of 1776 to 1976. All the beautiful sounds that came out of that Revolution and out of the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention have been adapted to our time in the Commager draft. There are also clear echoes of Lincoln and Wilson and F.D.R. The central thrust of the document is that the world today is in need of a great unifying idea at a time of clearly visible common dangers and common needs.

To read Commager's "Declaration of Interdependence" is to realize that the core of the problem today is that we tend to think of security in terms of the number of bombs at our disposal instead of the number of people who are willing to entrust us with their hopes. Do we need to be reminded that the phrase "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" came with the birth of this nation? —N.C.

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Letters from Readers

The Dilemma of Adoption

Betty Jean Lifton most unfairly characterizes the Vietnam "Orphanlift" litigation pending in federal court in San Francisco ["Orphans in Limbo," May 1]. Although at the outset the attorneys who filed the action sought the sequestration and repatriation en masse of children who they claimed were tools of a conspiracy between the United States and the failing South Vietnamese government to raise further massive military aid, the same attorneys now seek the return only of those children who are not orphans (or were not abandoned or validly released for adoption) *and* who have parents or close relatives in Vietnam who desire their return.

The basic reason why the case cannot possibly proceed as a "class action" is that the court must examine the facts and circumstances of each child's release and claim of parentage to determine whether the attorneys' dual criteria for repatriation are met. Never did there exist a "seemingly simple operation of sending possibly a few hundred non-orphans back to their families," as suggested by Mrs. Lifton. . . .

The fact of the matter is that after more than a year of litigation and testimony offered by the attorneys seeking the deportation orders or free communication between this country and Vietnam, not one parent or close relative of an Orphanlift child has expressed desire for the return of a child to Vietnam. Vietnam itself has shown no official interest in the return of the children. Indeed, for the past year Denmark has been unsuccessful in its attempts to repatriate the approximately 700 Montagnard children evacuated as part of the Orphanlift. . . .

Additionally, the constitutional lawyers who perpetuate the litigation have introduced evidence to prove a most regrettable social theory, namely, that interracial adoptions are a bad thing. The loving attention that one of these lawyers lavishes on his own adopted Vietnamese child out of court speaks far more eloquently than his outrageous argument advanced in court. . . .

Paul J. Matzger
Attorney for pre-adoptive parents
San Francisco, Calif.

Betty Jean Lifton replies: If the U.S. government had agreed immediately to work with the international agencies that were willing to help determine whether these children had living families who wanted them, it would have been possible for some to be returned quickly. Many Vietnamese mothers who have managed to get to this country have tried unsuccessfully to get their children back from American families. Parents in Vietnam have no way of knowing if their children were on the airlift or if they are still alive. They have no channels through which to express their desires. Immediately after the airlift, the present Vietnamese government demanded that the children be returned. The U.S. federal court, however, has not yet said the children can go back if they have families who want to be re-united with them.

Dissension in Dance

I have been reading dance reviews by Walter Terry for many years. I was surprised to read in his article ["Notes on a Creaky Myth," May 1] that he had never seen a Russian propaganda ballet before. There have been films of *Flames of Paris* shown in this country, and there have been live performances in the United States of *Stone Flower*, which certainly is fundamentally propaganda.

I am surprised that he was surprised during his recent visit to Russia at the nonexistence of good contemporary choreography by the famous Russian companies. This, I thought, was common knowledge.

Another surprise is his reference to the "matchless Plisetskaya." That she is a very exciting dancer I will agree. However, I know some dance experts in our country and in the Soviet Union who do not think of Maya Plisetskaya as the epitome of Soviet ballet.

I am not an expert on Russia, although I have visited there twice and plan to do so again next year. I can only marvel at what they accomplish in verve, theatricality, and technique.

I feel that the Russians are worthy of the "myth." Choreographically, they may eventually surprise us. In the meantime, their great dancing is enormously exhilarating.

Ruth Sussman
Arizona Civic Ballet
Scottsdale

Tall Tales

In his review of Bruno Bettelheim's *The Uses of Enchantment* ["Fairy Tales—Without Apologies," May 15], Leslie Fiedler not only misses the point that "sheer guile" may actually be "virtue" but also has "young German writers like Goethe and Novalis" begin composing *Kunstmärchen* "soon after the Grimms' stories had appeared." The tales first appeared in 1812, eleven years after Novalis's death, and when Goethe was sixty-two and certainly not campaigning "to subvert the Age of Reason in the name of . . . the Dark Sublime."

S. Atkins, Professor of German
University of California, Santa Barbara

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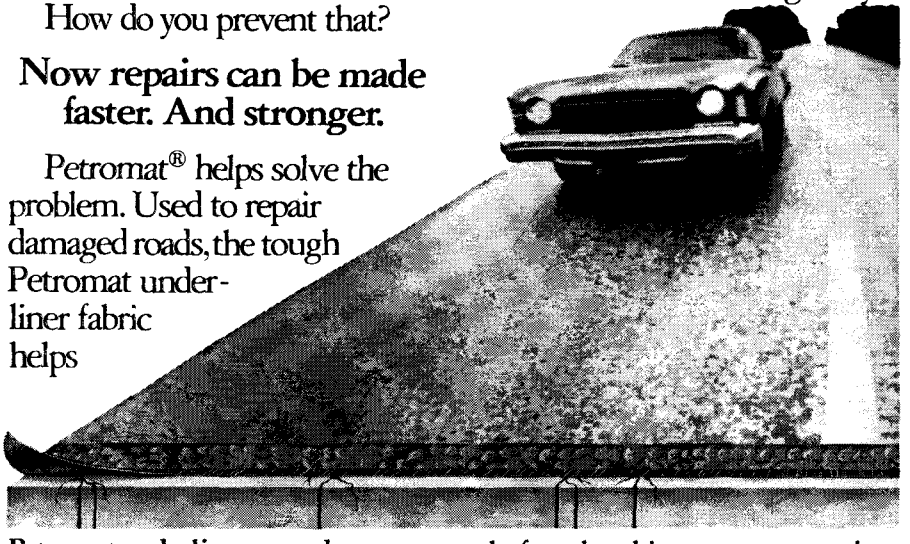

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The Performance Company

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The American Business System

Meeting a Crisis of Confidence

The rest of the world acknowledges the American economy as the most productive in human history. Other governments, planners, and economists envy the system that has made such a giant contribution to standards of living, technological progress, and the human condition.

Yet this system is currently on the defensive—reeling from criticism and suffering from a multifaceted crisis:

- **the public is asking questions about the morality of business institutions—as witness the revulsion here and abroad over revelations of bribes, or "special commissions"**
- **the business community, skilled in marketing communications, has not been especially adept in communicating its role in our society**
- **the marketing techniques that contributed to our growth are obsolescent in the face of growing humanism and the revolution in life-styles**

In this special report, thoughtful students of the problem assess the elements of the crisis and suggest courses of action. Leonard Silk and David Vogel look into the deterioration of the corporate reputation; Joseph Poindexter examines the often hairy relations between business and the press; Gurney Breckenfeld writes about the duel between business and government; Dan Lutkin argues that companies can profit handsomely from pollution control; and Louis B. Lundborg explores the business world that lies ahead.

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Rx
for a Tarnished Image

Regaining public confidence will demand not only better public relations but proof that business takes the country's concerns seriously

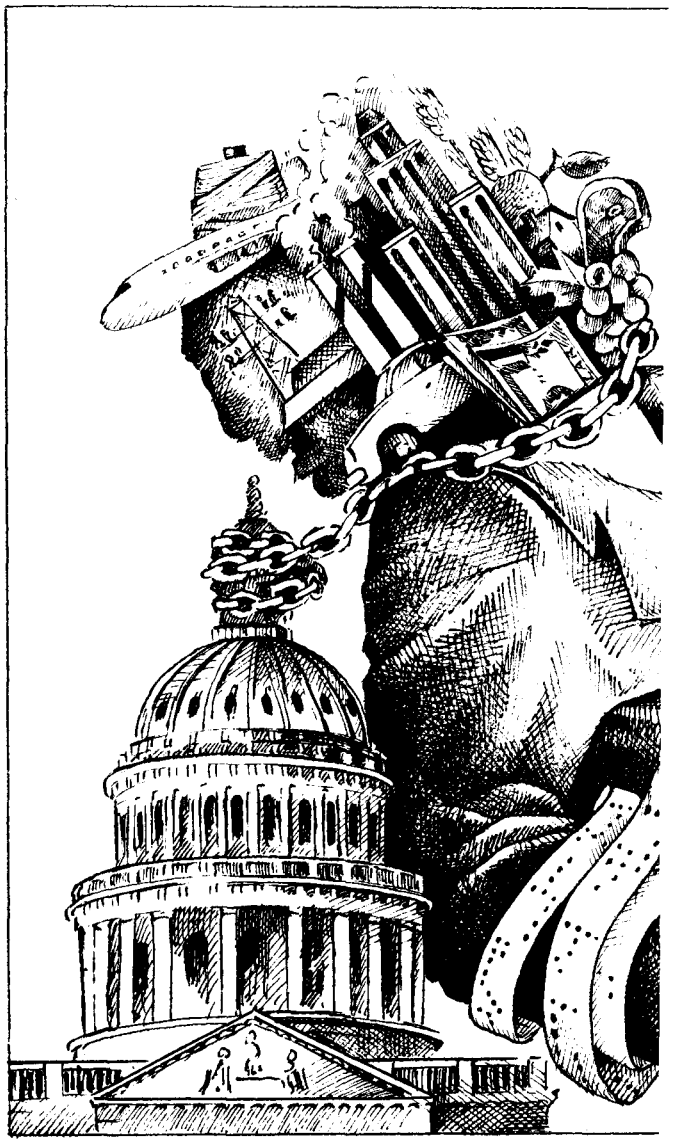
by Leonard Silk and David Vogel

IN SEEKING public favor and political approval, American businessmen frequently act surprised that they are not loved—the good father who works hard but is not appreciated by his ungrateful and ignorant children. But some businessmen recognize that with all their wealth and power they will inevitably be objects more of enmity or envy than of affection. As one executive put it during a recent Conference Board seminar at which we were observers: "If we are looking for passion and pity—forget it. We must stop berating ourselves and seeking pity. We can get respect but never be loved."

Yet it seems particularly hard for businessmen to recognize the legitimacy of other groups in society—politicians, writers, academics, artists, and so on. Businessmen tend to see society in narrowly economic terms, and they view those who do not contribute directly to the productive process as parasitic or—to use the term of the Physiocrats of the eighteenth century—"sterile." Perhaps inevitably, their own high income and status tend to make them look down on others—and frequently to undervalue the contribution of others to society and to the productive process. The advances in knowledge that have made possible a high industrial (or postindustrial) civilization have, after all, come largely from outside the business establishment.

The social and political narrowness of America's business leaders, which the best informed of them recognize and lament, is surprising in a nation that has called itself a "business civilization"—a nation in which, by and large, business has been held in high regard, and one whose political stability has been unmatched by any other nation. At first glance, America's stability, appetite for innovation, and indifference to radical change might seem uniquely congenial to developing an unusually thoughtful business leadership. In fact, however, this remarkable combination has left U.S. businessmen relatively indifferent—certainly when compared to their counterparts in Europe—to social and political questions. Businessmen often betray a remarkable lack of sophistication in these areas—a phenomenon that may be possible only in a society where business has been free from serious ideological challenge virtually for its entire history. And this transparent lack of sophistication in American executives is matched only by their critics' lack of sophistication about business institutions—how they operate and why they work as well as they do—and about how to design a better society.

It is not surprising, then, that many businessmen react to their critics with suspicion and sometimes anger—reactions rooted in a fear that the social goals and social controls being thrust upon them will undermine the vitality of business and, in destroying its effectiveness and efficiency, will inflict



Leonard Silk is a member of the editorial board and economic columnist of The New York Times; *David Vogel is assistant professor of business administration at the University of California, Berkeley. These articles are previewed from their forthcoming* Ethics and Profits: The Crisis of Confidence in American Business *(Simon & Schuster).*

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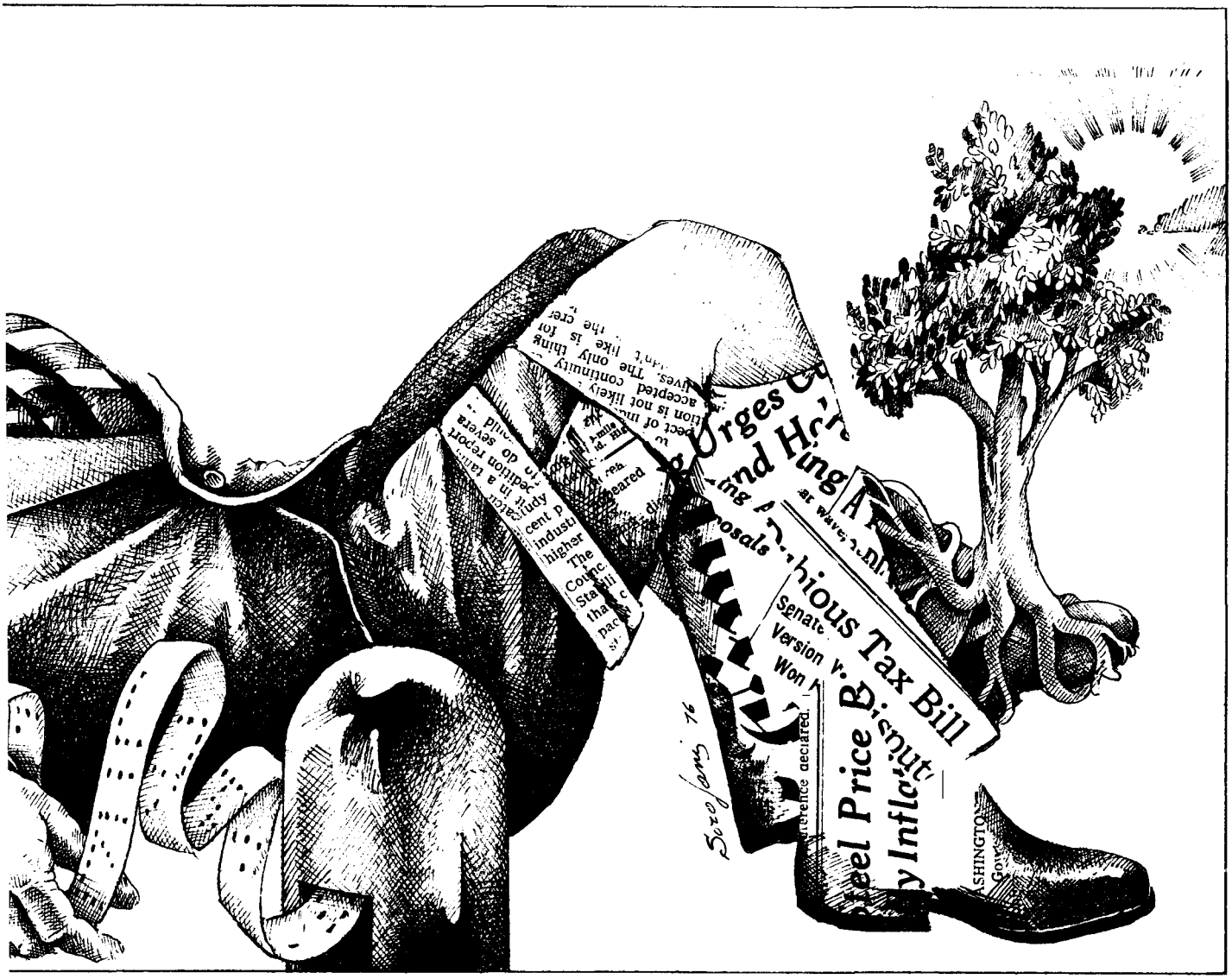
great damage on a hitherto free and prosperous society.

The existence of widespread public disappointment with the performance of business, and the counterattack by the business community, can thus be seen as part of a broader social dynamic. Serious tension has developed between public expectations of business and the ability or willingness of the business system to meet the terms required for public approval without unduly restricting its autonomy or—as many businessmen fear—threatening the survival of private enterprise.

The mood of business leadership is strikingly similar to that of other groups in one important respect: a feeling of impotence, a belief that its future is in the hands of outside forces. For business, as for other groups, frustration often turns to hostility. Feelings of alienation that began in the black community soon spread to the children of the middle class, moved into the white working class, and have even affected the military and the police. This mood has now reached the business community. It is a remarkable society in which so many groups, even the "Establishment," feel that "someone else" is in charge, "someone else" is to blame for whatever goes wrong. During the recent series of Conference Board seminars, we were struck by the frequently expressed view of businessmen that persons other than themselves were responsible for the nation's political, economic, and social troubles. Those "others" were most frequently seen to be politicians, bureaucrats, members of the news media and organized labor, young people, educators, and incompetent or lazy people looking not for work but for welfare.

Businessmen, like other groups, also tend to react defensively when blamed for the nation's troubles or for the widespread loss of confidence in its institutions. Economic troubles are held to result from a crypto-socialism, or excessive government interference, that is undermining the free enterprise system. Environmental problems, they contend, are distorted by extremists. Business corruption is blown out of all proportion by the foes of business—and business



Joseph Scrofani

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wrongdoing is no worse than that of other elements in the society and probably not nearly so bad.

Not all businessmen by any means take this complacent or defensive posture: some are deeply concerned about the viability of traditional economic-policy views, the values held by the business community as a whole, and the recent disclosures of unethical or illegal behavior. However, even these concerned individuals have been hesitant to criticize publicly those companies whose behavior has hurt business as a whole.

RATHER than simply "throw off" on others, American businessmen periodically meet—as at the Conference Board talks—to look intensively at *themselves*, their faults, their virtues, their values and responsibilities, and how they might make everything better. There is something uniquely American—foreigners might say "naively" American—about this belief of corporate leaders that they can thus improve business and society as a whole.

Such hopeful attitudes are paralleled in America by those critics of business who for decades have taken a reformist or "moral" line rather than one calling for radical change. By contrast, foreign observers often eschew direct, ameliorist criticism of business behavior because they do not think it will make any difference. Inheriting a tradition of class struggle, the opponents of the corporations in Europe are more likely to see the problem of making corporations responsible to the broad society as one that necessitates radical change in the political-economic system. Ironically, the lack of such radical views in the United States helps to explain our business community's worry about its "image"—and its fear that a more radical attack will develop if its image continues to be tarnished.

There are, of course, values that keep critics of American business from formulating an ideology that explicitly challenges capitalism. These values include a pragmatic philosophy that respects what "works," an upward-striving ambition for limited goals (especially a higher standard of living), a privatism that regards politics as a game or a racket—or in any case a matter of limited importance—and a resentment toward government control. These outlooks are, of course, shared by the business leadership itself. Neither business nor its critics are able to stand sufficiently apart from the American orthodoxy to appreciate the relatively narrow parameters of their disagreement. As American labor and American intellectuals generally forgo radical attack on the system, so American businessmen are resistant to the temptations of fascism—temptations that their European counterparts have in the past fallen victim to. Although American businessmen have traditionally regarded themselves as the nation's dominant elite, their strong antigovernment bias and their commitment to an ideology of "freedom" have made them immune to totalitarianism on the right. They are even able to resist the more moderate forms of "planning" accepted readily by businessmen in France, Scandinavia, Japan, and elsewhere.

While few American businessmen are likely to be *reassured* by public criticism, the frequent attacks on the "morals," performance, and influence of their firms are, in a sense, evidence of the stability of American capitalism and its broad public acceptance; periodic public vilification is the price American business pays for the absence of a serious socialist challenge. Yet such attacks can lead to legislative

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The Bees That Made the Most Honey

NEARLY a century ago, Andrew Carnegie said:

> The millionaires are the bees that made the most honey, and contribute most to the hive even after they have gorged themselves full. . . . Oh, these grand, immutable, all-wise laws of natural forces, how perfectly they would work if human legislators would only let them alone! But no, they must be tinkering.

The president of the New England Granite Works observed in the 1880s:

> [We are] overwhelmed . . . by useless legislation. The universal law of supply and demand is superior to any law which can be enacted by Congress or any other power on earth.

By the turn of the century, however, these ideas and the social and political outlook they reflected had become irrelevant to the political, social, and economic structure of twentieth-century American capitalism. The persuasiveness of this limited understanding of the role of business in society had derived from four assumptions: a competitive market, the identity of the firm with the private property of its owners, the limited participation of the government in the economy, and a belief in the separation of the economic and social spheres of society.

Each of these assumptions, however, had been gradually undermined by the close of the nineteenth century. Between 1895 and 1900 a merger wave created more than 5,000 trusts covering practically every line of productive activity and markedly altering the structure of industrial markets.

John Moody, a conservative Wall Street publisher who compiled the first definitive account of the scope of corporate concentration—to provide the public with the "truth about the trusts" to counter the charges of the "muckrakers"—identified seven "Great Industrial Trusts" that dominated the American economy: United States Steel, Amalgamated Copper, American Smelting and Refining, American Sugar Refining, Consolidated Tobacco, International Mercantile Marine, and Standard Oil. It is clear that the merger movements and the growth of giant corporations in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries had drastically altered the structure of markets, resulting in far greater concentration of power.

The restructuring of the economy removed a second prop of the classical creed: the idea that the privately owned corporation could draw upon property-ownership rights to legitimate the power of corporate managers. The separation of ownership and managerial control did not become a part of the conventional wisdom until 1932, when Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means published their classic *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*. However, the creation of U.S. Steel in 1901, by the

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or regulatory actions that hamper the business community's freedom—and may reduce its profitability.

There is another factor that helps to explain the outbreaks of tension between American corporations and the rest of society—the notion of American "uniqueness." The belief that there is something special about the United States has been a central theme in the consciousness of Americans since the earliest settlements; while Europe was the "old country," and was always "there," American society and civilization were the object of conscious creation. Americans felt that they were building a society that would be the cynosure of all mankind. John Winthrop said of the settlement at Massachusetts Bay, "We must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us." The business executive who suggested, at one conference, that "America is capitalism's last chance" was unconsciously echoing the belief that lay behind the Puritan migration to the new world—that "America is God's last chance."

The other side of this sense of American uniqueness is a feeling of pervasive insecurity. This unique experiment may fail. The dangers facing "the American free enterprise system"—somehow a system different even from that of other capitalist countries—run as a motif throughout the history of American business opinion. This concern about the fragility of the American experiment (a counterstroke to the energy and optimism that are so much a part of the American ethos) runs from the *Federalist Papers* through the latest speeches made at a business conference.

Anxiety about the system—and about the survival of free enterprise and democracy—is very much on the minds of U.S. business leaders these days. To what extent, they ask, have the principles that have governed the relationship between corporations and the rest of society become incompatible with rates of profit necessary to ensure the continued existence and growth of capitalism in America? They perceive an inherent conflict between a largely independent corporate sector able to pursue its own economic objectives, on one side, and, on the other, a popularly elected government dominated by the vast number of voters who seek to realize their own aims, whether or not these cripple business.

Businessmen have grown increasingly troubled about the apparent conflict between popular democracy and the traditional prerogatives of free enterprise. Is the conflict real and deep? Has corporate autonomy been rendered obsolete and even dangerous by the economic imperatives of a highly complex and highly integrated industrial society? Must the traditional atomistic enterprise system give way to a more closely coordinated and planned system—whether under the dominance of the great corporations, other social groups, or the government bureaucracy itself? Such profound ideological questions are very much on the American political agenda today.

This is not the first time in American history that such fundamental questions have been raised as a result of public discontent and hostility toward business, especially big business. Each of the two previous waves—the Progressive Era, 1902–1912, and the Great Depression, 1929–1939—resulted in significant changes in our political and economic system. What will result from this third wave? That will depend not simply on technological imperatives but on political and social values and beliefs—that is, on ideologies, including the ideology of business.

The ideas and ideals of businessmen are certainly important to the executives themselves. Businessmen, like mem-

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financier J. P. Morgan, had already marked the beginning of a trend toward replacement of owners by professional managers. The basic principle of "individual initiative in individual enterprise" has been challenged; the autonomy of management could no longer reasonably be defended on the basis that the firm was "their" private property.

The growth of the great corporations also brought in its train a much expanded role of government in the economy. Pressures both from business interests concerned about ensuring a greater degree of market stability and from citizen and consumer interests concerned about the political dangers of unregulated monopoly forced the federal government, for the first time in American history, to systematically intervene in business affairs. By the time the Progressive Era had run its course, a variety of reforms and regulations covering rail transportation, food and drugs, trade, mergers and acquisitions, banking, and much else had become accepted and integral parts of the American business setting.

Each of these developments, resulting from public concern over business power, symbolized a broader transformation: the shift of the conception of the corporation from a private institution, whose impact was judged primarily in economic terms, to a quasi-public institution, whose impact was seen in its social and political dimensions as well. Since the turn of the century, social observers have been comparing great modern corporations to nation-states in their importance to society.

In his influential indictment of Standard Oil in *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, published in 1894, Henry Demarest Lloyd declared:

> We have been fighting fire on the well-worn lines of old and leaving competition to regulate itself. But the flames of a new economic evolution run around us, and we turn to find that competition has killed competition, that corporations are grown greater than the State and have bred individuals greater than themselves, and that the naked issue of our time is with property becoming master instead of servant. . . .

Some business leaders responded to the charge that they had become the unelected rulers of "an extra-constitutional government" by reaffirming their faith in the discipline of the market and the sanctity of private property. It was in June of 1902 that George F. Baer, president of the Reading Railroad, issued the statement that has come to symbolize an entire period of American industrial history:

> The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given the control of property interests of the country.

But this was one of the last invocations of the "divine right" of capitalists. Other businessmen recognized that the classical defense of free enterprise had become inappropriate. —L.S. and D.V.

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"The mood of business is similar to that of other groups in one important respect: a feeling of impotence, a belief that its future is in the hands of outside forces."

bers of any occupational or social group, want to understand their role in society. Like all individuals, they need a clear sense of their particular function and its relationship to the overall goals and needs of the social system. They want to believe that what they are doing with their lives is appropriate and useful.

Some students of political change have argued that a critical factor in determining when a dominant social group begins to lose power is when it loses faith in itself. But for businessmen, who live "in the market" and whose products are subject to constant appraisal, faith in oneself seems to depend to an extraordinary degree on the regard of others. Hence the importance of "public relations" to businessmen—not just to sell products but to gain self-respect. Since 1901, when John D. Rockefeller hired Ivy Lee to reshape his public image after the Ludlow Massacre, American executives have been particularly conscious of (some might say obsessed with) seeking a coherent justification of their role in American society—one that is convincing to their less affluent fellow citizens and that enhances their self-regard.

THE importance of a favorable public view of businessmen is not just personal but economic and political as well. In a democratic society, legitimacy is a critical dimension of political and economic stability. Although the value of public opinion is frequently exaggerated, there can be no question that the degree of congruence between self-image and public image enhances the political strength and legitimacy of business. Conversely, businessmen grow anxious and apprehensive when they feel that they are held in low regard. There have always been cycles in public approbation and disapprobation of business in America, and the downswings can come with sudden and alarming speed. As Daniel Yankelovich has observed:

> Business is being criticized and called a bum today for doing the same things that made it a hero just a few years ago. Business hasn't changed; society has changed. The period from the end of World War II to the late nineteen-sixties was a time when what people wanted and what business provided were perfectly synchronized. What has happened since then is that the values of the country have shifted. . . .

The business community's concern with the public's faith in it, though often excessive, contains an important insight—that a society cannot function well without public confidence in its institutions and its leaders. In the United States, large corporations and their executives are critical elements in a healthy and stable social order. It makes a big difference whether the institutions that dominate a society exercise their authority according to some legitimate claims or whether the public regards their role as improper or illegitimate. The business community has every reason to be concerned about the American public's present lack of confidence in it. And the challenge now facing America's executives is not to explain themselves better but to demonstrate that they take the public's concerns and criticisms seriously.

If, as some economists believe, slower growth in physical output and real income should lie ahead for decades to come, then American business, even with the best of intentions, may be unable to accumulate the wealth and physical assets it wants in a way that is consistent with what the broad public wants—and intends to get through the political process. And, paradoxically, the dependence of business on the political process—and on government aid—may continue to increase as executives find various reforms increasingly threatening to their business organizations as a result of slower growth of the economy as a whole. Intensified foreign competition, and the growing hazards of doing business abroad in a world with diminished respect for the power and rights of multinational corporations, may also make U.S. business more dependent on government—and hence on the favor of voters generally. Like it or not, the political process will hold life-or-death power over corporations.

With social, economic, and technological strains thus intensifying, apocalyptical modes of thought are coming to dominate political rhetoric in America. Scientists warn us that continued economic growth will mean the end of human life on this planet, perhaps of all life, while business leaders see additional government regulation or direction as signifying the end of capitalism, freedom, and civilization as we have known it. The apocalyptical rhetoric, for all its negativism, sounds remarkably self-indulgent. It caters to our vanity by assuring us that there is something particularly important about the events that take place within our lifetime. Such rhetoric is counterproductive, for it arrests necessary change and adaptation of the American system. For business leaders, the margin for self-deception has become reduced; the political and social ideology through which business perceives the world has grown uncomfortably out of step with the political and social environment.

The future of the Republic will in large measure be debated and decided in terms of the power and purposes of the corporation. This future will not, of course, rest exclusively in the hands of corporate executives—indeed, if it did, there would be little political urgency for business in this study. Much of it will depend on the political and ideological effectiveness of non- and anti-business forces in the society. Yet, as long as the privately owned corporation remains the central institutional mechanism for the production and distribution of goods and services, the views of businessmen on social and political issues will have a substantial impact on public policy. Their vision is important both because they are powerful and because their power will rest increasingly on the comprehensiveness and compassion of their vision. ◉

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"Any woman who has a great deal to offer the world is in trouble."
Hazel Scott on Hazel Scott, in **Ms.** Magazine.

"If men could get pregnant, abortion would be a sacrament."
Flo Kennedy talks 'verbal karate,' in **Ms.**

"Black family life will be a disaster if it copies white family life."
Eleanor Holmes Norton talks about black feminism, in **Ms.**

"Like 60% of all the people on welfare in the United States, I am white...welfare is a woman's issue."
Marie Ratagick tells the truth about welfare, in **Ms.**

"The Sexual Revolution and the Women's Movement are polar opposites on philosophy, goals and spirit."
Anselma Dell' Olio talks about the sexual revolution, in **Ms.**

"We want live activists, not imprisoned martyrs. Yet, what do we do with our rage?"
Gloria Steinem on rape and retaliation, in **Ms.**

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The Great Industry-Media Debate

Corporations accuse the business press of bias and incompetence, and reporters say industry is unresponsive and secretive

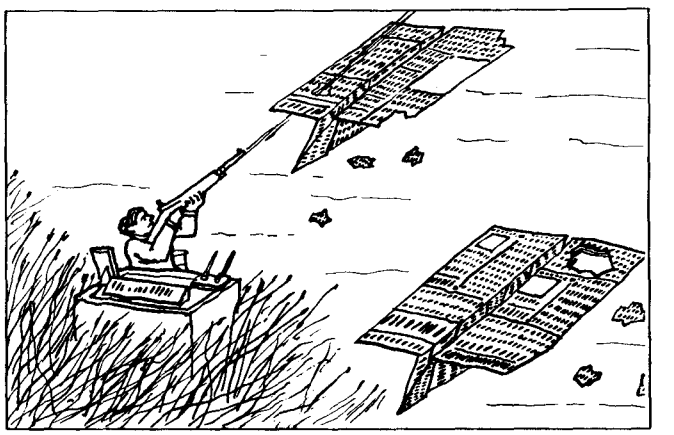
by Joseph Poindexter

BACK in the early sixties, *Business Week* sent a reporter to the recently opened Pan Am Building, in midtown Manhattan, to see how things were going in what was then the world's second most capacious office tower (the Pentagon was the first). Marbled and muraled lobbies and an unparalleled view of Park Avenue made for gracious working conditions. But the unique thing about Pan Am was its accessibility. Not only was it perched almost directly above Grand Central Station (with some of its foundations thrusting down between Penn Central tracks, to end up deep in Manhattan granite), but it also, in those days, had a heliport on the roof. In between were the speediest and smartest elevators Westinghouse Electric had ever manufactured. And finally, if you happened to be Pan American Airways President Juan Trippe, you could, as the reporter noted, descend to the Park Avenue ramp level and slip into your chauffeured Cadillac, a few feet from the elevator doors.

All the above amiable chitchat about the building was put into type, imprinted about half a million times, slipped between covers along with other, weightier matter, and mailed out to *Business Week*'s readers. No sooner had the issue reached the executive desks of corporate America than someone called to ask how it was that Juan Trippe, a director of Chrysler Corporation, would be driving a General Motors product. The question was quickly answered when the reporter paid another visit to Pan Am's Park Avenue ramp and found the discreet IMPERIAL logo of Trippe's waiting limousine blazing out at him like neon. The point is that while everybody involved has probably long forgotten this miscue, the reporter, I can say with complete assurance, remembers it to this day. Such miscues are, of course, still common—as witness the debate between business and the business press about alleged errors appearing in print. Long confined to testy letters to the editor and snide remarks among journalists, this debate has now broken out into the open in ads and full-length articles. But as the clamor rises, it is well to keep in mind the simple fact that no one abhors an error more than a journalist. True, an error may wound others, but it is the journalist who carries the scar.

That's a rather long-winded way of answering one of business's most frequent complaints about its press: sloppiness. The fact remains, however, that sloppiness, hardly the sole preserve of reporters, is only one of business's beefs with the media. It is now making two more serious charges against the press: unfairness and incompetence.

Probably no firm has put the case more persistently than Mobil Corporation. For the most part, Mobil's ubiquitous ads have tried to get across its side of the story. But every once in a while Mobil runs an ad that tells why all this is necessary. "We know from experience how quickly movies, TV and the press can establish fiction from fact," says a recent advertisement. Farther on, it states: "Materials provided by commerce or industry in the form of news releases, speeches, white papers, special studies and other documents or even face-to-face briefings have not proved to be the answer, because of the selective use of such materials." (Most business journalists, however, decry the days of "rip and run" financial sections, which did little more than print



such press releases with hardly a blue-pencil mark on them.)

Has Mobil's campaign been effective? Chairman Rawleigh Warner thinks so. He was recently quoted in the journalism review *More* (April, 1976) as saying, "I do know that if we hadn't done it we would have left all the media to our critics. And I'd have to assume, we'd be worse off today."

If Chairman Warner sounds pessimistic about the destructive tendencies of the press, he is certainly not alone. "Anytime a bunch of business executives get together these days," Bethlehem Steel President Frederick W. West, Jr., told the recent annual meeting of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, "you can be sure somebody will start talking about what's wrong with the news media."

What they're saying often goes like this: "Most of us are fed up with glib, shallow, inaccurate reporting and editing—tired of journalistic tastes which prefer sensationalism above fundamentals, which allow a thespian to pose as a newsman." Those are the words of Donald S. MacNaughton, chairman of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, in an address to the American Life Insurance Association.

Perhaps the harshest criticism of all, coming as it did from a former member of the journalistic fraternity, was the blast from the pen of Louis Banks, who was managing editor of

Joseph Poindexter, a free-lance writer, has for many years been a contributor to business publications.

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Fortune before going to the Harvard Business School as a visiting professor. Writing in *Time* early this year, Banks charged that we are being "fed a daily diet of authoritative ignorance, most of which conveys a cheap-shot hostility to business and businessmen. Here," said Banks, "is where the nation sees a persistently distorted image of its most productive and pervasive activity, business."

Invariably, critics of the business press point to that now-infamous wire-service reporter who showed up at an annual meeting of American Telephone & Telegraph and during a vigorous quizzing of the chief financial officer displayed his ignorance of the difference between stocks and bonds. Less egregious misuses of the press conference abound. For example, the inaugural press conference given by William M. Batten, new president of the New York Stock Exchange, got badly bogged down when a reporter from *The New York Times* attempted to pin down Batten's salary and determine whether a chauffeured car was one of the fringe benefits.

Finally, executives groan in unison over the contortions that profits go through on the business page. "Nothing haunts business-news media relationships," says MacNaughton, "more than the commonplace evidence that so many writers, reporters, and commentators don't understand the meaning, uses, and benefits of profits."

For its part, the business press is not blind to its shortcomings. It maintains, however, that unfairness is not one of them. If some reporters are cynical of business, they live in an age that has been tough on most institutions and are cynical of all of them. And while granting that too many of its practitioners cannot read a balance sheet, the press maintains that the principal inhibitions to good journalism lie elsewhere. One major problem, as the journalist sees it, is the lack of commitment to business reporting from newspaper publishers. "The biggest problem in business journalism is the press itself," says Steven Shepard, who is chief financial editor at *Newsweek* and who has just completed a year on the faculty of the Columbia Journalism School. "Let business people complain all they want about the lack of trained reporters," says Shepard, "but before we're going to see improvement, publishers and editors have to want to do a job—spend money, hire good people, and give the business section the space it needs."

(Last year, Columbia Journalism School student Paul Kessinger analyzed the business pages of nine large Northeastern papers. He found that space devoted to sports exceeded that given to business by a ratio of more than two to one—and that about half the business linage actually contained nothing more than stock tables.)

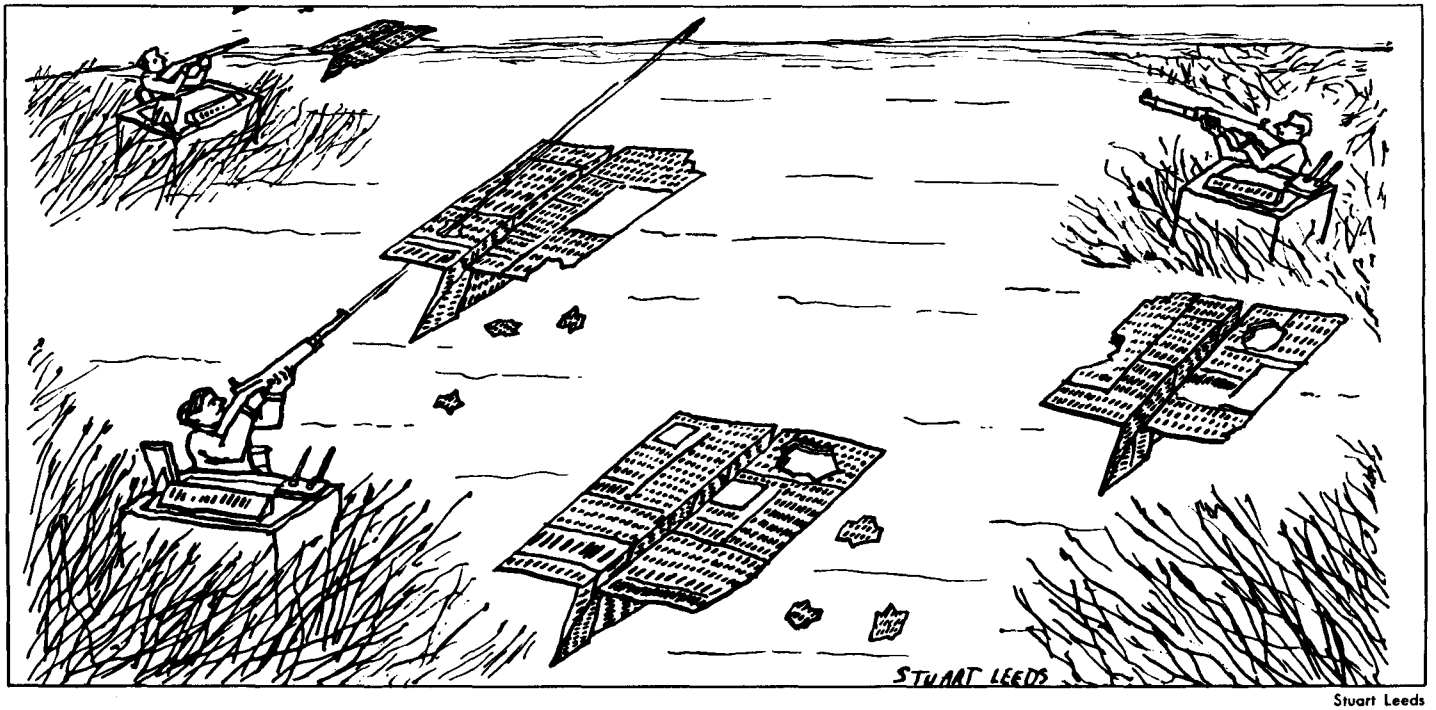
Myron Kandel, editor and publisher of a newsletter on the financial press and newly elected president of the Society of American Business and Economic Writers, notes that there are virtually no top newspaper editors who have come up through business reporting. (*Des Moines Register and Tribune* editor Michael Gartner, formerly an editor at *The Wall Street Journal*, may be the lone exception.) "So there is nobody up there with an understanding or interest in business and finance," says Kandel.

"The newspapers out in the boondocks are still doing an awful job," adds press critic Chris Welles. "Editors claim that the readers don't care about business," he says, "but I've always felt that that was a self-serving argument. If business were given the attention it deserves, readers would respond."

If half of the journalists' problem lies with their bosses, the other half, they say, lies with their sources, corporate executives—the same executives who clamor for better coverage from a more competent press. Business complains that most financial reporters are unprepared to grapple with the complexities of energy supply, interest rates, or the inner workings of the corporation. Reporters feel that much of that gap could be closed by executives who were more interested in disclosure.

The trouble is that reporters and executives play by conflicting rules. A reporter wants everybody to lay his cards on the table, whereas an executive wants to play them close to the vest. John E. Pluenneke, chief of the London bureau of

Continued on page 22



Stuart Leeds

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Profits Are For People...

As essential as profits are to the survival of our way of life, I know of few subjects so universally misunderstood. And a recent nationwide survey indicated that misconceptions about profits are increasing. Obviously, business is not getting the message through. The time is long overdue for some old-fashioned plain talk.

By putting profits to work, companies build new factories, modernize existing facilities, enable Americans to compete with manufacturers abroad and—most critical—create jobs for our people and opportunities for future generations. The company that doesn't make a consistent profit year in and year out withers and disappears, and so do the jobs of its employees.

Most experts agree that our economy will need at least $4 trillion in new capital during the next 10 years. Unless we plan to convert to socialism—and we certainly don't want to do that—a good part of it will have to come from corporate profits. Yet, contrary to what most Americans think, corporate profits have been shrinking. Today, the rate of profit by U.S. corporations is about 5% on sales, less than it was a decade ago. If profitability continues to shrink, we can look forward to an era of diminished economic growth and fewer jobs.

And when there is less profit to tax, our federal, state and local governments cannot obtain the revenues needed to carry out public programs, and the goals we have set for our society will be seriously threatened.

Our company—Allied Chemical—is a good example of profits at work. From 1970 to 1974, we earned net profits of $436 million and plowed back $258 million into business expansion and job-creating activities. That's about 62¢ of every dollar we earn. But this creative reinvestment of profits is only part of the story. Businesses that are profitable provide much of the support for public spending. During this same period, our company paid more than $382 million in taxes. Our employees paid taxes from their wages, and our stockholders paid taxes on their dividends. So, profits are continually recycled for everyone's benefit.

In newspapers and magazines during the past few months we have been talking publicly about corporate profits because we are convinced that an understanding of this subject by our people is vital to protect America's quality of life. We are pleased to report that the points of view conveyed in the series have drawn overwhelmingly favorable support from readers of these publications.

John T. Connor
Chairman

Allied Chemical

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Some facts about the most efficient food producers on earth.

The bumper-sticker in our picture is one that's cropping up all over Kansas.

Maybe the sentiment is abrasive. But it makes a good point. As important as the typical farmer is to us, many Americans know next to nothing about him, his work or his problems.

Which is remarkable, because the American farmer is part of this country's biggest industry. Total farm assets: $531 billion! That's equal to about three-fifths of all the capital assets of all the manufacturing corporations in the U.S.

The American farmer and productivity.

There are all kinds of statistics on the productivity of America's agricultural workforce, all of them pretty astounding. On the average, each farm worker supplies enough food for 56 people. As re-

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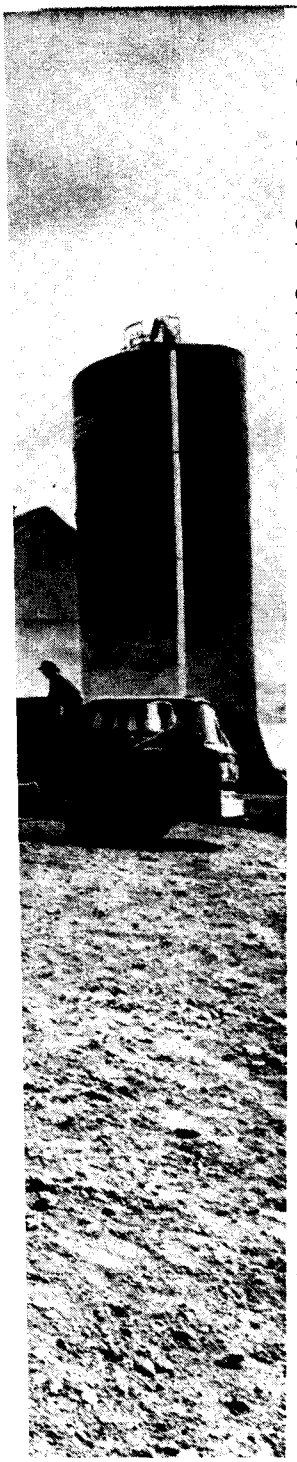

cently as 1957 he fed only 23; in 1945, only 15—an increase of 273% in thirty years.

Such figures mean more in comparison with the Soviet Union, one of the few countries outside the U.S. where very large-scale farming is possible. Russia has 500 million acres of land under cultivation; the U.S. has 300 million. Russia has 36,000,000 farm workers; the U.S. about 4,500,000. Yet it's estimated that one Soviet farm worker feeds only about seven people, compared to 56 in the U.S.

One result of such efficiency down on the farm is that we feed more people with fewer workers, so millions of us are freed to work other fields—industry, arts and sciences.

Another result is that, despite inflation, Americans still spend less of their disposable income on food than the citizens of any other nation. Today Americans spend about 18% of their income on food. The average Briton spends 24%; the average Frenchman spends 28%; the average West German 32%; the Japanese 35%; the Russians 58%.

Any business as efficient as this must be very businesslike indeed, and it is. The typical American farmer is still a man who gets up early and goes to bed early. As always, he still faces the risks of weather, supply and demand. Even the fundamental problems he must solve are complex: what to plant; when to plant; what fertilizers; what insecticides; what herbicides; what equipment. He is an agronomist, mechanic, chemist and veterinarian.

The American farmer as an independent businessman.

But these days he must also be a first-rate manager of a tightly run business. Most farms operate on cash flow, sometimes computerized. They run for the most part on borrowed money. At the beginning of 1975, farm debt was $95 billion, about 18% of assets. When the income starts rolling in, it gets plowed back into seed, feed, tons of fertilizer and other chemicals, into the maintenance of dozens of buildings, into the purchase of machines like $19,000 tractors and $34,000 combines. In Kansas, on the average, a farm family may net only about $800 a month on a pretax-annual income of a quarter million dollars.

Despite the obstacles, however, the American farmer is the nation's leading earner of foreign exchange. Farm exports are playing a key role in regaining a favorable balance of trade position for the U.S. And the American farmer is the nation's best hope of improving the international trade picture still more.

The American farmer and international trade.

Within ten years, it's estimated, agricultural exports could lead to an $8-billion annual gain in the U.S. balance of payments. After he has finished feeding his own countrymen, the American farmer has left over nearly 60% of his wheat and rice, 50% of his soybeans, 25% of his grain sorghum, 20% of his corn. By contrast, supplies outside the U.S. are not only failing to keep pace with population growth, but are actually dwindling.

More and more urgently, the world depends on American farmers to make up the difference. More and more willingly, the world is ready to pay for American farm products with raw materials scarce or unavailable in the U.S.

This advantage—what Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz called "agripower"—is one that does not have to be legislated into existence. The very opposite is true. Operating under the law of supply and demand, the American farmer can continue to supply world needs for food, and satisfy American appetites not only for good things to eat, but the material to feed American industry.

All we have to do is let it happen.

As the world's largest manufacturer of specialized farm machinery, Sperry New Holland would like to help bridge the communications gap between the American farmer and the public. An informative brochure, Voice of the Land, is available upon request. For your free copy, write to: Sperry New Holland Division, Sperry Rand Corporation, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019.

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The Great Industry-Media Debate from page 18

Business Week, puts it this way: "To a reporter, a fact has an inherent worth, in and of itself. To a businessman, a fact is an asset to be invested." (Plunneke, by the way, rates the American business press well ahead of the English. "The [London] *Financial Times*," he says, "runs stories with holes you could drive a truck through.")

Business people still resist "investing" those facts with the business press. "A senator on the floor of the Senate will answer my call in ten minutes," says Ray Brady of CBS, one of a new breed of television reporters who have moved over from the print side of business journalism. "So why does it take a Midwestern realtor three days?"

That's a question every business journalist asks sooner or later. The answer, it would seem, is that—up till now at least—businesses have operated pretty successfully without the assistance of the press. In fact, two of the savviest concerns operating today are distinguished by their unresponsiveness to journalists: Procter & Gamble and International Business Machines. There is a large community of disgruntled business reporters, all of whom have had an identical experience: calling IBM public relations, hearing one's question being dutifully typed out at the other end of the telephone, and receiving a return call a week later with the reply, "Gee we're sorry, but IBM would like to pass on that one," as if the query were a cocktail hors d'oeuvre. Given normal deadlines, the story will by then have left the reporter's typewriter, making the demurral purely academic.

The essence of this attitude toward the press was expressed recently to a reporter from *Dun's Review*: "I gave up years ago trying to explain my business to the public. They're not my clients." The speaker, by the way, was Walter P. Margulies, whose firm, Lippincott & Margulies, creates corporate logos and therefore is in the business of communicating business to the public.

YET, for all the wariness between the press and business ("two strange dogs circling each other" was the way Prudential's MacNaughton put it), things seem about to get better. There are many theories on why this is happening, but they center on two linked developments: the economics angle to more and more news stories (one can't even escape high finance in the sports section nowadays) and the upgrading of the craft of business reporting. "An earthquake in the U.S.S.R. could have implications for the world grain market," says Thomas E. Mullaney, finance editor of *The New York Times*, "and that in turn would affect shipping." "How do you cover New York City without knowing something about money?" asks Shepard.

The intrusion of economics into journalism is beginning to be felt in the journalism schools. A writing seminar on business at Columbia that attracted just eight students five years ago was cut off at twenty-five last year—and ten students were turned away. At the University of Missouri's School of Journalism an economic-analysis course was introduced two years ago. Lyle Harris, who teaches that course, says that he has had an increasing number of calls from newspapers looking for students with backgrounds in economic reporting. "The idea that a good general reporter can handle anything is quickly passing," says Harris.

That represents a radical change of view from the prevailing wisdom of a decade or two ago—when the business desk was often manned by rejects from the sports section. Alan Abelson, who as managing editor of *Barrons* writes the most influential investor column in Wall Street, became a financial reporter by way of the city desk at the now-defunct *New York Herald Tribune*. "In my newspaper days," he says, "there were business reporters who couldn't even read the stock tables." Adds Mike Kandel, who was editor of the *Trib*'s financial section: "Since journalists now see opportunity in economic reporting, fewer are getting into it by accident."

And for those who are still getting onto the business page by accident, help is at hand. Columbia and Princeton have graduated their first groups of fellows under programs designed to give talented journalists a background in economics (as in the case of the Sloan Fellowship program at Princeton, which takes only nonbusiness reporters) or economic reporting (as with Columbia's Bagehot Fellowships). Then there is the four-week program, known as the Davenport Fellowships in Economic Reporting, just completed at the University of Missouri. These three programs represent the most significant effort to improve the breed that has ever been launched in business reporting. Not incidentally, the tab for two of the programs, Bagehot and Davenport, is being picked up by corporation foundations—critics Mobil and Prudential among them. "We worked these people very hard," says Charles H. Berry, director of the Sloan Program, "and eventually we expect them to make a difference."

Other developments are also making a difference in business journalism. One of these is the increasing comprehensiveness of the reports required by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Established to protect the investor from such things as inflated claims on behalf of new stock offerings, the SEC has become a boon to business journalists. For example, in the past a reporter would consider it a coup to be able to uncover the profit contribution from, say, XYZ Corporation's cement works. Now a periodic report filed with the SEC gives him that information. (In fact, the so-called 8-K form filed quarterly has been the key source of most of the corporate-bribery reporting.)

Another development is the growing realization that an independent business press, for better or worse, is here to stay. Some years ago, *The Wall Street Journal* broke ranks and reported on General Motors's new-model offerings before GM was ready to release the information. GM retaliated by withholding its advertising, but the *Journal* stood fast by its policy of not allowing a source to control the news about it. GM is running ads in *The Wall Street Journal* again, and the lesson of independence is gradually taking hold throughout the business press.

It also seems to be taking hold among corporations. Editor James W. Michaels of *Forbes* magazine notes that corporate managers are getting less thin-skinned toward the business press. Since *Forbes* has made its reputation on its penchant for saying uncomplimentary things about corporations, Michaels should know. "It's human to want to conduct your business quietly and not have to explain everything," he says. "But a new generation of managers is becoming aware that a company's fortunes are tied to its having a reasonably good image. In a world in which a rise in the price of steel is a political act," Michaels adds, "corporations can no longer hide from public scrutiny."

The dogs may continue to circle each other—and maybe let out a snarl from time to time. But they certainly are going to get to know each other better. ◉

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IBM Reports

Depersonalization and the computer

Most of us can't help feeling nostalgic for an earlier, simpler era when most of life's dealings were face-to-face.

But chaos would surely result if we tried to conduct all of our dealings that way today. There are just too many of us. We are too mobile. The things we do are too complex—and the pace of life too fast.

It would be hard to imagine using credit cards or confirming airline reservations, for example, without the help of computers. Yet undeniably, dealing with each other, often at great distance, with machines as intermediaries has brought with it an element of depersonalization that none of us welcomes.

Still, there are compensating benefits.

By handling routine matters routinely, computers free people to deal personally with exceptional cases—and to provide individual attention that is swift and informed.

Thoughtful computer users are programming special consideration into many computer-assisted transactions. For example, airline reservations systems can quickly arrange to meet the requirements of passengers who need a wheelchair or a special meal.

In classrooms, computer-assisted instruction permits students to make progress at their own pace, enabling teachers to give more individual attention.

And in hospitals, where personal attention is critical, computers are relieving nurses and doctors of much administrative detail, giving them more time to spend in caring for their patients.

In spite of such benefits, there is no question that giving individual attention to individual needs becomes increasingly difficult with each passing year. The real question, of course, is whether we all care enough to try.

Many organizations which use computers have shown that they do recognize the need to preserve these values and are doing something about it.

For our part, we at IBM are trying to help through the development of products that make it easier for computer users to deal with people as individuals.

IBM

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Government's Hammerlock on Business

Beset by numbing federal regulations, today's corporation is in clear and present danger of degenerating into an appendage of government

by Gurney Breckenfeld

AGAINST formidable odds, President Gerald Ford has been struggling for nearly two years to set in motion forces that would dismantle much of an enormous government apparatus that inhibits competition, raises prices, and promotes inflation. This push for regulatory reform has become the administration's major economic initiative. The effort has attracted considerable bipartisan support in Congress, in part reflecting the widespread public discontent with the power, costs, and inefficiencies of big government. Yet so far the substantive results amount to only a nibble at the periphery of a vast and an apparently intractable problem. With administration backing, the lawmakers have introduced more flexibility into the Interstate Commerce Commission's control over freight rates and repealed the federal "fair trade" laws that let some manufacturers fix retail prices. The Securities and Exchange Commission has finally forced price competition in stock trading on reluctant brokers. In response to the personal demand of the President, federal agencies have at least made a start at finding ways to reduce paperwork and regulatory delays.

Limited though they are, such steps come none too soon. After more than forty years of increasing government intrusion into the affairs of business, the United States economy has about reached a crucial tipping point. The free enterprise system, by any rigorous definition of the phrase, has long since given way to a mixed economy in which government dominates but business is still impelled toward efficiency by the pursuit of profit. But if government expands its reach into business much further, the market system may not long survive.

This worry is widely shared among business executives. In a thoughtful talk not too long ago, Reginald H. Jones, chairman of General Electric, expressed concern about "whether the corporation as we know it . . . will survive into the next century." Among several points of "vulnerability," he said, "the most insidious and the one most likely to change the major corporations into mere arms of the government is the slow, evermore entangling web of regulations by which the power of decision is being transferred from the boardroom to federal agencies in Washington."

In much the same vein, Cornell C. Maier, president and chief executive of Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation, recently described regulatory agencies as a new "fourth branch of government—often with power out of all relationship to their charter." He added: "The distressing thing about power of this type is that it can be so irresponsible. The agencies, bearing no real accountability for the consequences of their actions, need not worry about them. The injured have little recourse against the bureaucrats, and the bureaucrats have no effective restraints."

Some of the clamor for deregulation comes from liberal legislators, the media, populist professors, and even such consumer advocates as Ralph Nader. On close examination, it turns out that a lot of them feel as strongly as the President does that *some* old-line agencies stifle competition and help prop up prices. But there appears to be little support in such quarters for pulling apart the Food and Drug Administration, for example, or the Federal Trade Commission, despite their shortcomings. There is no support at all for weakening such newer, broader, and (to many businessmen) more menacing entities as the Environmental Protection Agency, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, or the Consumer Products Safety Commission.

The gap between rhetoric and reality involves businessmen as well. Robert Mayo, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, recently scolded corporate executives for engaging in double-talk about deregulation. "What I see behind much of the talk," he said, "amounts to saying: 'Let's get rid of the regulations on that industry because I will benefit, but don't deregulate my industry; we're too fragile.' 'Deregulate natural-gas prices, but don't let the price go up.' 'We're for free trade generally, but our industry needs import quotas.' "

Considering the lack of consensus about what should be done, as well as the business pressure for special advantages, it is easy to be skeptical about how much will be done about the regulatory incubus anytime soon. For the moment, as Mayo notes, the balance is tilted toward more regulation, not less. Yet the case for reform of the older agencies (though perhaps not their total abolition) is impressive. Over the decades, they have become scandalously inefficient and sometimes slothful. As consumerists charge, many have been taken over, in effect, by the industries they are supposed to regulate. The case for curbing the newer regulatory bodies seems even stronger. Professor Irving Kristol, of New York University, has written: "They overflow with unfriendly feelings against *all* business, not just big business. Their aim is to substitute, wherever possible, their decision-making powers for those of the marketplace so as to improve the

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Gurney Breckenfeld is a member of the board of editors at Fortune *magazine.*

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Did you give at the office?

Another charity drive?

No. But we are going to ask for some of your money. The difference is, we're going to give it back. And more.

Just give at the office. Buy U.S. Savings Bonds through your Payroll Savings Plan at work.

You see, a little will be taken out of each check and set aside to buy U.S. Savings Bonds. And because it's automatic, you'll never miss it.

So be charitable to your future. And your country's future.

Take stock in America with U.S. Savings Bonds.

Series E Bonds pay 6% interest when held to maturity of 5 years (4½% the first year). Interest is not subject to state or local income taxes, and federal tax may be deferred until redemption.

Take stock in America.

Join the Payroll Savings Plan.

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Ron Chironna

'quality of life.' This is why they are so utterly indifferent to the burdensome costs of their interventions."

This pre-eminence of government, of course, represents a reversal of the principles on which the nation was founded. This year is the bicentenary both of the Declaration of Independence and of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*. Parts of the U.S. Constitution, notably the Bill of Rights, show the influence of Smith's idea that limiting a sovereign's powers tends to promote the prosperity of the people. In a passage that seems as pertinent today as it must have 200 years ago, Smith wrote: "Kings and ministers . . . are themselves always and without exception the greatest spendthrifts in the society. . . . If their own extravagance does not ruin the state, that of their subjects never will."

Yet no less an authority than economist Milton Friedman argues that it was not the philosophy of the Founding Fathers but, rather, an accident of history that kept government out of business and so preserved free markets in the United States until the twentieth century. In the 1830s state after state began building canals and railroads; Illinois even set up banks owned and operated by the state. All of them were wiped out in the financial panic of 1837. "You cannot really say that free men make free markets," insists Friedman. "They may or may not. But you can say with great certainty that free markets make free men."

Such reasoning applies to the argument for less government involvement in business. Simply stated, if too many economic liberties are lost, political and civil liberties must inexorably disappear as well. Freedom is, after all, indivisible. As Walter Wriston, the chairman of Citicorp, has observed: "The road to serfdom is paved with demands for governments to take over more and more economic activity."

Government intervention in the United States marketplace has come bit by bit, and the humane or at least plausible aims of each new control or regulation have made it hard to resist. Nearly fifty years ago, Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, a famous liberal, warned against the process. "Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when government's purposes are beneficent," he wrote. "The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well meaning but without understanding." The process that Brandeis feared got its big impetus under the New Deal, when deficit spending was legitimized in the name of economic pump-priming and myriad other government initiatives were undertaken to try to end the Depression.

THE vast proliferation of government boards, commissions, agencies, and departments since the New Deal has now politicized the United States economy to such a degree that coping with government has become for many a top executive a tougher problem than managing his own corporate domain. According to Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, government regulatory agencies alone, with an army of 100,000 on their payrolls, exercise direct control over one-tenth of everything bought and sold in the nation. Business spends an astonishing $18 billion a year just to fill out government forms. Before the New Deal, the government accounted for about 10 percent of the nation's output of goods and services. Today the government share has swollen to nearly 40 percent, and Simon calculates that if recent trends prevail, that share will reach 60 percent by the end of the century.

Last year President Ford placed the annual cost to consumers for wasteful and unnecessary regulatory policies at $2,000 per American family. By one recent estimate the nation has a surplus of at least 90,000 hospital beds, chiefly the result of overbuilding in response to federal grants under the 1948 Hill-Burton Act. The price of lumber is climbing sharply, but more than 6 billion board feet of mature timber in national forests die every year because federal rules prohibit their harvest, according to a General Accounting Office report.

Occasionally somebody tries to fight these government-mandated price increases, as economist Murray Weidenbaum calls them. Last December, Jacques Gidden, a California orange grower, defied the marketing order system that helps prop up the price of oranges by keeping surplus fruit off the market. He shipped 3,441 boxes of oranges a week instead of the 200 prescribed by the Navel Orange Administration Committee. He was in a financial bind at the time, he has explained, and "either had to pick them and pay the bank or go down the tube." His show of free enterprise got him haled into federal court, where a judge permanently enjoined him from shipping excess oranges. If he does it again, he may go to jail.

Corporate executives must walk a tightrope in their battles with regulatory bureaucracies because they always face the possibility of retaliation. A railroad president who attacks the ICC must consider whether his next plea for a rate increase will be prejudged. A merchandiser who dares

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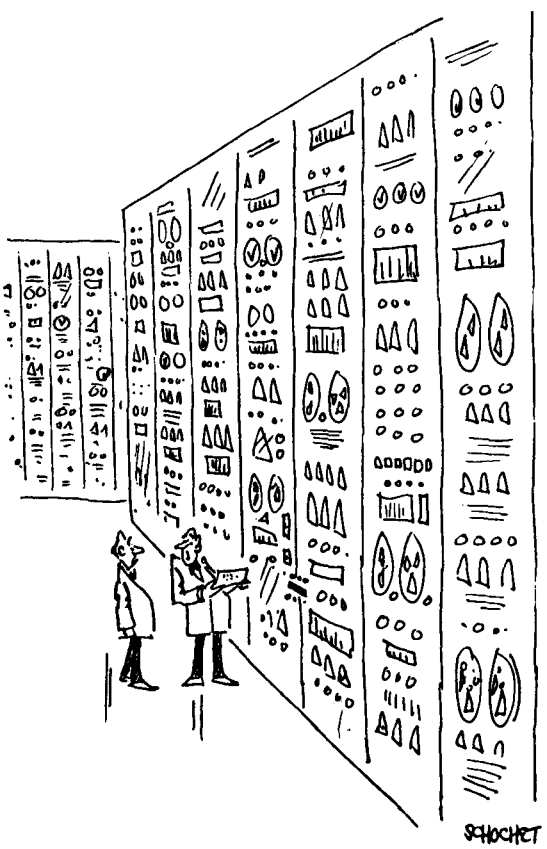
challenge an arbitrary rule promulgated by the Federal Trade Commission must worry lest the commission make trouble for him another day. No wonder, then, that it was an economist—Henry Kaufman, a partner in the Wall Street firm of Salomon Brothers—rather than a banker who recently warned that the banking system is "being politicized" and called for "urgent steps to halt the process." Kaufman said it is "shocking to see the loans banks are forced to make to finance businesses and projects that are losing vast sums, under the guise of governmental efforts to maintain employment."

To make industry's voice better heard in Washington, a group of chief executives in 1972 formed a little-known organization called the Business Roundtable. By last year the group had 63 of the nation's top 100 industrial companies among its 168 corporate members. Acting informally and in concert, these officers devote an increasing amount of time to personal lobbying, partly on the theory that the stakes are so high that the head man must help to fend off legislative threats to the business community.

IN THE antibusiness climate fostered by inflation, recession, and disclosures of widespread corporate bribery and illegal political contributions, private enterprise now faces what may be the most serious challenge to its future in decades. Four legislative proposals would vastly increase government suzerainty over business. All have Democratic support that ranges from substantial to overwhelming. All appear to face a veto if they reach President Ford; most seem destined to become issues in the presidential campaign. The four ideas:



"It says 'a computer cannot live by equations alone.'"

Break up Big Oil. This measure, a modified version of one narrowly defeated in the Senate last fall, would force any oil company that produces more than *1.4 percent* of the nation's crude oil to give up refining and marketing. Some fifteen major refiners would be barred from controlling any crude-oil–producing facilities or increasing their ownership of service stations. Major oil companies would have to get out of the pipeline business. The case for such drastic surgery involves the notion that the oil majors can wrest monopolistic profits from "noncompetitive" production and refining. Advocates love to refer to Big Oil's "obscene profits," though except for 1974, when OPEC's sudden price increase produced a big one-time windfall profit from petroleum inventories, the industry's return on its investment has regularly been close to the median for the nation's 500 largest industrial companies. In all their oratory the backers of dismemberment have yet to show that the move would increase competition or lead to lower prices. One thing a forced breakup seems certain to do is make it more difficult for the nation to develop its domestic oil resources, if only because the years of litigation sure to follow such a law would inhibit the necessary investment.

Federal charters for big corporations. This is Ralph Nader's solution, five years in gestation, for the "evils" wrought by giant companies. He would require some 700 of the largest United States corporations—those with annual sales exceeding $250 million or with more than 10,000 employees—to get a federal charter in addition to the state charter each already holds. The requirements of the chartering statute are the crucial element. Nader would have Congress compel big companies to strip their top executives of much of their power and adopt a system of shareholder referenda for all vital transactions. He would also force companies to disclose more data about their operations (for example, outlays for lobbying and substantiation of advertising claims). And he wants new rules to limit acquisitions and restrict the size of companies under percentage formulas. Nader argues that government has a right to regulate the internal affairs of corporations to this degree because they aren't private enterprises at all but, rather, legal creatures of the state. Opponents call his reasoning dubious.

Central economic planning. Few economic issues raise political blood pressures faster than the idea that Washington bureaucrats can figure out how to manage an economy as big and as intricate as that of the United States. The Balanced Growth and Economic Planning Act of 1975, sponsored by Senators Hubert Humphrey (Minnesota Democrat) and Jacob Javits (New York Republican), would set up an economic-planning board in the office of the President. Armed with greatly improved economic statistics—the presumed result of centralizing the now-fragmented collection of data—the board would devise a six-year economic and social plan and identify the policies and resources needed to carry it out. The legislation would give the planners no power to carry out their schemes, but opponents contend that all such planning ultimately must lead to coercion. President Ford, one of the measure's toughest critics, has argued that it would produce "an economy whose vital decisions are made by politicians while the private sector dries up and shrivels away."

Government-mandated full employment. The Full Employment and Balanced Growth Bill of 1976, sponsored by Humphrey and Representative Augustus F. Hawkins,

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A good rule of life insurance is keep what you've got.

If you're thinking of letting your life insurance lapse, consider these facts: (1) If and when you have to replace it, a similar policy will probably cost more. (2) Your premiums may be higher because you are older. (3) You also might have to pay more because your health or occupation has changed. (4) And in the meantime, you may be left without important protection.

How to avoid lapse.

Your agent has several ways to help. For example, he could:

Revise your contract. You may be able to keep the same amount of protection but reduce the premium by altering the type of policy. For example, the premium on a whole life policy will be less than the premium for a Life Paid Up at 65 for the same amount.

Change the frequency of premium payment. If you're paying your premium once a year, consider making smaller payments more often.

Change to another premium payer. Maybe someone else could take over the payment for a while—a daughter, son, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, or anyone who has an interest in your financial security.

Secure a policy loan to help pay your premiums. A temporary measure, to be sure. But you should know it could be available to you as a means of preventing lapse.

All is not lost.

Even if your policy has already lapsed, reinstatement might be possible. Discussing your situation with an agent is a good idea in any case. Solving problems is what agents are trained to do.

It's your insurance.
We want you to understand what you're paying for.

Prudential

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"The argument for less government involvement in business is simply this: if too many economic liberties are lost, political and civil liberties must inexorably disappear as well. Freedom is, after all, indivisible."

California Democrat, demands that the government create full employment (defined as a 3 percent jobless rate among adults) within four years. The target implies an overall unemployment rate of about 3.5 percent, lower than the nation has ever achieved for any sustained period. Government employment on a huge scale would provide the jobs at "prevailing wage scales" if private industry did not. For youths and the unskilled jobless, there would be a grab bag of training and employment programs. To reach these ambitious goals, the bill would force the government to undertake elaborate central economic planning; the Humphrey-Hawkins bill spells out the ingredients in mind-numbing detail. While much of the bill is ludicrous, some has merit. The measure would require the President to review existing government rules and regulations annually to see if they still serve a public purpose and to evaluate at least one-fifth of the dollar volume of all existing federal programs to see if they are still needed.

The most glaring flaw—even to sympathetic economists—is that the measure would be wildly inflationary. One adviser to Democrat Jimmy Carter figures Humphrey-Hawkins might create a 15-percent-a-year inflation rate. Partly in order to win AFL-CIO support, the bill contains no effective provision to deal with the potential wage-price explosion. Democrats in Congress expect to pass the measure, figuring that the certain Ford veto will give them a campaign issue.

In any case, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is propelling business into the middle of the much broader argument over how far the government should go toward equalizing wealth and income among the U.S. population. Today's egalitarian movement began as a crusade for equality in legal rights, for example, voting, job opportunities, equal pay for equal work. Today the aims (though not the talk) of the egalitarians have shifted to equal *results*, quite a different matter. They ask more government aid for the poor, the jobless, and the aged (among others) as a matter of right, not humanitarian impulse. They would have the federal government use its power to redistribute wealth and income, overcome differences in education and family backgrounds, and, in the process, substitute a socialized, government-run economy for the one we have.

Conservatives correctly view this movement as a major threat to the market economy, which has given the nation the highest living standards in world history. For quite different reasons, many liberals also find egalitarianism disquieting. The gap between the poor and the rich, they hold, has been a leading contributor to schisms, tension, and violence in America. But can the disparity be ended without crippling the machinery of abundance? It seems doubtful.

Economist Arthur Okun, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and onetime chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Johnson, delved into this dilemma a year ago in his book *Equality and Efficiency: The Big Trade-off*. Today's economic system, he wrote, enables "the big winners to feed their pets better than the losers can feed their children." But the system also promotes innovation, permits decentralized decision making, and so provides incentives for work and production that no other system can equal. Okun concluded: "Any insistence on carving the pie into equal slices would shrink the size of the pie. Any realistic version of American socialism . . . would achieve only a small improvement in equality at the expense of a significant worsening of efficiency."

Such disillusionment among liberals has unquestionably contributed to the ground swell of mistrust in government and provided support for a number of recent moves to control its expansion. For example, the two-year-old Council on Wage and Price Stability has performed a noteworthy service by publicly attacking numerous regulations issued by other federal government agencies on the ground that their costs outweigh their benefits. In Florida a new law, effective this month, will require state agencies to justify their actions in cost-benefit terms before they proceed. Congress has made an impressive start at getting control over its hitherto wastrel ways of spending by setting up legislative machinery to put a lid on total outlays and each major component of them. The next step, embodied in the so-called sunset bills currently before Congress, is to require every federal board, agency, commission, and program to justify its existence anew every four years and to win fresh congressional approval or automatically be abolished.

A MUCH more crucial legislative battle is likely to occur next year as Congress considers tax changes to help industry invest more money in new technology, plants, and equipment. The United States devotes a smaller share of its total output of goods and services to capital investment than does any other major industrial country in the free world. Creating one new job requires an average investment of $40,000, and by some estimates the nation needs to create 20 million jobs in the next decade. Some combination of corporate tax cuts, investment tax credits, faster depreciation write-offs, and perhaps an end to the double taxation of dividends will be essential if business is to have a chance at meeting that need. In Washington's zap-business climate, the outlook is discouraging. Yet in today's tax-motivated, tax-activated, tax-directed society, few decisions will have a larger impact on the future shape of the American system.

Fifty-one years ago Calvin Coolidge was right when he observed, in one of his classic utterances, that "the business of America is business." Now, as GE Chairman Reginald Jones says, "The United States can no longer be called a business society. We are a pluralistic society in which many competing groups and institutions strive for power and influence. Thus more decisions will be made and more resources allocated by political processes, than by the market economy." Whether those decisions will allow liberty and prosperity to endure hangs very much in the balance. ◉

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"Now is the best time in 200 years for you to buy a new home."

Straight talk from William M. North
Chairman of the Board, National Gypsum Company

"That's a message for America's future. Not her past. A message that needs to be heard. Admittedly, some people have been negative about the homebuilding business during the past two years. But housing is now on the upturn and we want to help it gain solid momentum by convincing Americans that owning a home is a good investment. So at National Gypsum Company we're putting our money where our mouth is and betting on the building business in 1976."

How we're going to do this.

By launching a consumer advertising program aimed at the lucrative market of young families who have the motivation and desire to own a reasonably priced home of their own.

Here's what the message will say:

That now is indeed the best time in 200 years to buy a new home. Because building products are better than ever and houses are better constructed. . . because banks and other lending institutions are more cooperative. . . because the Federal government helps prospective homeowners. . .and because a home is a good investment, with monthly mortgage payments that yield valuable tax deductions and build up equity.

We will also make the point that homeowning families are generally happier and more fulfilled because a home gives each member a feeling of belonging and a sense of something that is his. Each ad will offer for $1.00, an informative guidebook entitled, "The Realities of Buying a Home."

The second half of our campaign.

We want to help builders in their local markets. Through our trade advertising and sales calls, we'll offer them a complete assortment of tie-in promotional materials for their own use. Builders can also obtain low-cost, imprinted quantities of "The Realities of Buying a Home" to offer their prospects.

Why are we doing this?

Because one out of every ten dollars in America's gross national product is tied in some way to construction. Obsolete and substandard housing, new household formation, overcrowding, excessive rent burden and decaying neighborhoods have created a pent-up need for better housing. The "short fall" was estimated at more than 2.1 million units at the end of 1975 — a full year's housing production.

America's housing needs must be met. And we at National Gypsum Company are tailored to respond. As a capital-intensive company with substantial existing capacity, we can produce more volume with present production facilities. Another way of saying that we can meet any upturn in market demand and we will all profit from it.

As we look at the American economy today, we see gradual but inevitable recovery ahead, with a healthy construction industry. For all segments of that industry, we will continue to produce affordable, high quality products to meet the changing needs of the vibrant American lifestyle.

To home buyers and builders:

The time is right, the market is right, the economy is right. Let's go!

NATIONAL GYPSUM COMPANY

A half century of helping to build a better America.

American Olean Tile: Nation's largest producer of glazed tile, ceramic mosaics and quarry tile.
Binning's Building Products: Wide variety of fabricated aluminum and glass building products.
Binswanger Glass: Largest independent distributor and installer of construction glass.
DMH Company: A leader in manufactured housing and specialty units.
Gold Bond Building Products: Highly diversified manufacturer of more than 300 wall and ceiling products.
Huron Cement/Allentown Cement: A complete line of quality portland and masonry cements.
Multicolor Wallcoverings: A leader in printed and embossed vinyl wallcoverings.
Thomas Strahan Company: Nationally known for wallpaper designs and coordinated fabrics.

For a copy of our 1975 Annual Report, write to: Secretary, National Gypsum Company, Buffalo, New York 14202.

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Recycling at a Profit

by Dan W. Lufkin

I RESENT the attempts of some economic pundits and industrial leaders, who should know better, to brand environmentalists as the major enemies of a sound economy. And I find particularly offensive their efforts to blame the energy crisis, inflation, and recession on the cost and difficulty of maintaining environmental standards.

In a recent speech to the Western States Republican Conference, for instance, Pierre Rinfret predicted darkly that "we have already reached zero growth in this country." He placed much of the blame on the environmental movement, which, he said, is "not *on* a collision course with the economy. It has already collided with it. . . . I don't think the Izaak Walton League should be telling the people, 'Thou shalt not grow.' "

I know and have great respect for Pierre Rinfret. He is an economist of outstanding reputation who often delights in playing devil's advocate on almost any issue. But this kind of condescending sneer at the whole environmental movement is a disservice to rational discourse. And the questionable statistics he uses to support his arguments can only give aid and comfort to the enemies of both economic growth *and* environmental protection.

Obviously, to the energy guzzlers and the apostles of unlimited growth, environmentalists are the prime villains. Especially when times are tough, the environmentalists' message of moderation, control, and delayed gratification is hard to swallow.

But swallow it we must if we are to maintain the significant environmental progress we have made in the past five years and to preserve some rational balance between the growing economic needs of man and the shrinking ability of earth and its resources to satisfy them.

It is tempting to blame the environmental movement for our economic slowdown and the recent lag of the GNP. But such a claim of overwhelming influence comes as a shock to my environmental colleagues, both in and out of government. It is flattering, but inaccurate.

There is no evidence I can find to support the contention that we are slowing down our rate of growth to accommodate the environmental groups or that there is a conspiracy to hold growth to a 2 to 3 percent level. In fact, the Congressional Budget Office, which produces nonpartisan economic research for both houses of Congress, projects a 6.6 percent growth in constant dollar GNP for 1976, together with a drop in unemployment from 8 percent to 7.5 percent.

I might add that these same projections forecast a steady rise in corporate profits each year over the next five years. If environmental costs were so excessive, this is obviously where the most serious drag would be felt.

The shutdown of 25 percent of the nation's foundries because of environmental requirements is another bogeyman continually called up to frighten the faint-hearted. But the fact is that the gray iron foundries affected most by pollution-control standards are economically marginal operations—very old, very small—only 6 percent of which hire as many as 200 people.

As *Fortune* magazine has pointed out, "Jobs in foundries—dirty, noisy places where you can trip and fall on steel cooling down in molds from 2,900 degrees Fahrenheit—have been hard to fill in recent years." It is for this reason that many foundries have chosen to close down rather than undertake to make their already unstable operations either safe for employees under Occupational Safety and Health Act regulations or safe for the environment according to federal and state Environmental Protection Agency standards. So what we are obviously seeing is the kind of economic shake-out encouraged periodically by the Darwinian aspects of our free enterprise system. Should we blame this on the environmentalists or on Adam Smith?

As Sylvia Porter wrote recently, of the sixty-nine plants in all industries that were closed down or curtailed from 1971 through 1974, partly because of pollution-control requirements, most were small, old, and unprofitable plants that probably would have been shut down anyway. This certainly supports the projections made in 1972 that of 12,000 plants throughout the United States in industries contributing a major share of air and water pollution, only 200 to 300 would be forced to close, and the total number of jobs lost as a result would be no more than .5 percent of the 1972 rate of unemployment.

What shortsighted folly, then, to use the recession or the energy crunch as an excuse to throw aside environmental constraints and return to slavish conformity to science, technology, and the maximization of growth—any growth—at the expense of quality of life.

As Rene Dubos says, "A good environment is now considered one of our inalienable rights." But we must be on guard against those who would have us trade off that right for short-term growth and profit. To insist that growth must always be maxi-

Dan W. Lufkin served from 1971 to 1973 as Connecticut's first commissioner of environmental protection.

" 'Dear Mr. Hasbrook: You have exceeded your annual quota of rejection slips. Please do not submit further . . .' "

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mized is to look only at the demand side of the equation. It is high time we factored all costs and recognized the long-range consequences of our actions.

Until we exercise restraint, practice conservation, and reduce the scale of our personal and public desires, we will be incapable of saving the environment—or, in the long run, of saving ourselves.

This does not require a religious conversion or a change from our system of free enterprise. Many corporations have already demonstrated that a rational approach to pollution control can result in more efficient processes, greater productivity, and added profits.

It's true for the Union Camp Corporation, which turns mill wastes worth 8¢ per pound into flavors and fragrances worth more than $1 per pound.

It's true for the St. Regis Paper Company, which is selling a reclaimed waste product for $300 per ton—more than the cost of many grades of its paper.

It's true for Westvaco Corporation, which has turned by-product recovery into a fivefold boost in its earnings.

It's true for Dow-Corning Corporation, which is saving $900,000 per year on a $2.7-million investment in waste recovery.

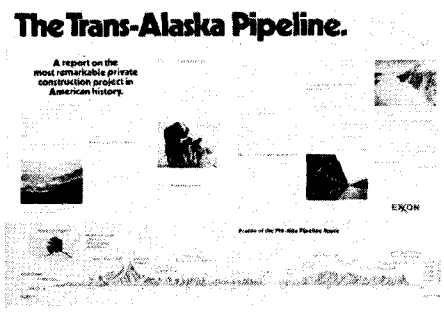
It's true for Dow Chemical in Freeport, Tex., which will recover $100,000 per year in chlorine solvents with a capital investment of only $125,000.

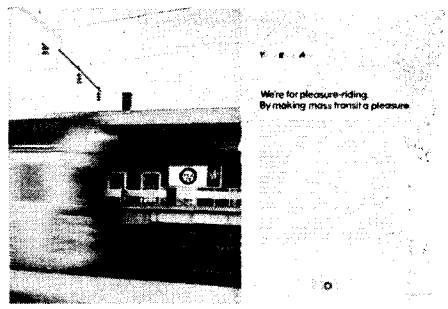
We have always prided ourselves on our ability to profit from technology. Why should we be reluctant to let the environment profit from it as well?

It can be done. Corporations sensitive to the environmental equations are using their ingenuity to combine the profit motive with a genuine sensitivity to environmental needs. As C. A. Gerstacker, of Dow Chemical, has said:

> I do believe with a passion in the profit motive, and I really believe that if we hitch the profit motive to some of our problems, we will get them solved. Pollution control will continue on forever if we see it simply as a drag on earnings or a necessary nuisance classified as overhead. If we see the opportunity in pollution control and exploit that opportunity to the hilt, then we will help our earnings, and we will solve *our* pollution problems, and we will solve the *nation's* pollution problems.

To this I can only say, "Amen," and urge Gerstacker to tell it to Pierre Rinfret, too. ◉





SR's Twenty-second Advertising Awards

The year 1975 was one of stress and change in the energy field, and this fact was reflected in the prize-winning selections for advertising in the public interest, *Saturday Review*'s twenty-second annual awards in this category. The competition once more covered public-service (nonimage) and public-relations (corporate image) advertising. In the latter category, two companies, both of them in the energy field, tied for first, a most unusual event.

Exxon Corporation, represented by McCaffrey & McCall, ran a series of double-page ads in color explaining its side of such touchy subjects as the Alaska pipeline, deep-sea oil wells, America's huge coal reserves, and how to save energy in a season of short supply. Mobil, represented by Doyle, Dane, Bernbach, tackled mass transit, oil from abroad, jobs for minorities, and oil-company profits. These two companies ran a dead heat for top honors in the public-relations category.

The judges were unanimous in awarding the public-service prize to Vansant Dugdale's ads for the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, which stressed the desperate need for better understanding of drug manufacture, for wider distribution of such vital items as polio vaccine, and for quality control, and told why the pharmaceutical industry spent $900 million last year on research.

All of the ads in *SR*'s twenty-second competition had to have been published in a consumer magazine in calendar 1975. Though the quantity of entries was down slightly from a year ago, the quality was the best in many seasons.

Among runners-up, for whom special mention was recommended, AT&T continued its long series explaining its history and future plans, the American Iron & Steel Institute promoted recycling of municipal wastes, Bethlehem Steel stressed pollution control, General Electric looked at U.S. energy potential, St. Regis promoted its products in the public interest, and Union Carbide ran a series on conservation. —RICHARD L. TOBIN

1976 Awards Committee

Alfred Balk, editor and publisher, *Atlas World Press Review*
Joseph Brouillard, vice-president, J. Walter Thompson
John Caples, vice-president, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn
Robert Dilenschneider, vice-president, Hill & Knowlton
Paul Erdos, Erdos & Morgan, market researchers
John M. Fischer, vice-president, Bozell & Jacobs
Jo Foxworth, columnist, *Advertising Age*

1976 Award Winners

Company	*Agency*
Exxon Corporation	McCaffrey & McCall
Mobil Oil Corporation	Doyle, Dane, Bernbach
Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association	Vansant Dugdale

Special Mention

American Iron & Steel Institute	Hill & Knowlton
American Telephone & Telegraph Company	N. W. Ayer
Bethlehem Steel Corporation	Van Brunt
General Electric	Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn
St. Regis Paper Company	Cunningham & Walsh
Union Carbide	Young & Rubicam

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Making a Living in the Third Century

Look for a period of slower growth, an end to the habit of throwing away useful things, and a rebirth of the good old American repair shop

by Louis B. Lundborg

HAVE we Americans changed direction since our country's founding in 1776? If we have, are we satisfied with the change? Finally, is there anything we can do to influence our national direction from here on?

If these questions are valid in the political, social, and cultural spheres, certainly they are valid in regard to how people make a living, where they produce things, and where they daily buy and sell. In this Bicentennial Year the whole skein of things we call economic activity should be examined. Certainly this economic area of our lives is full of more myths, more solemn truths that just are not true, than the tales of Baron Munchausen.

Most of my adult life, I have seen and heard businessmen go into a state of apoplexy over any trend or movement that they considered a threat to what they have called the American Way of Life or the American Free Enterprise System.

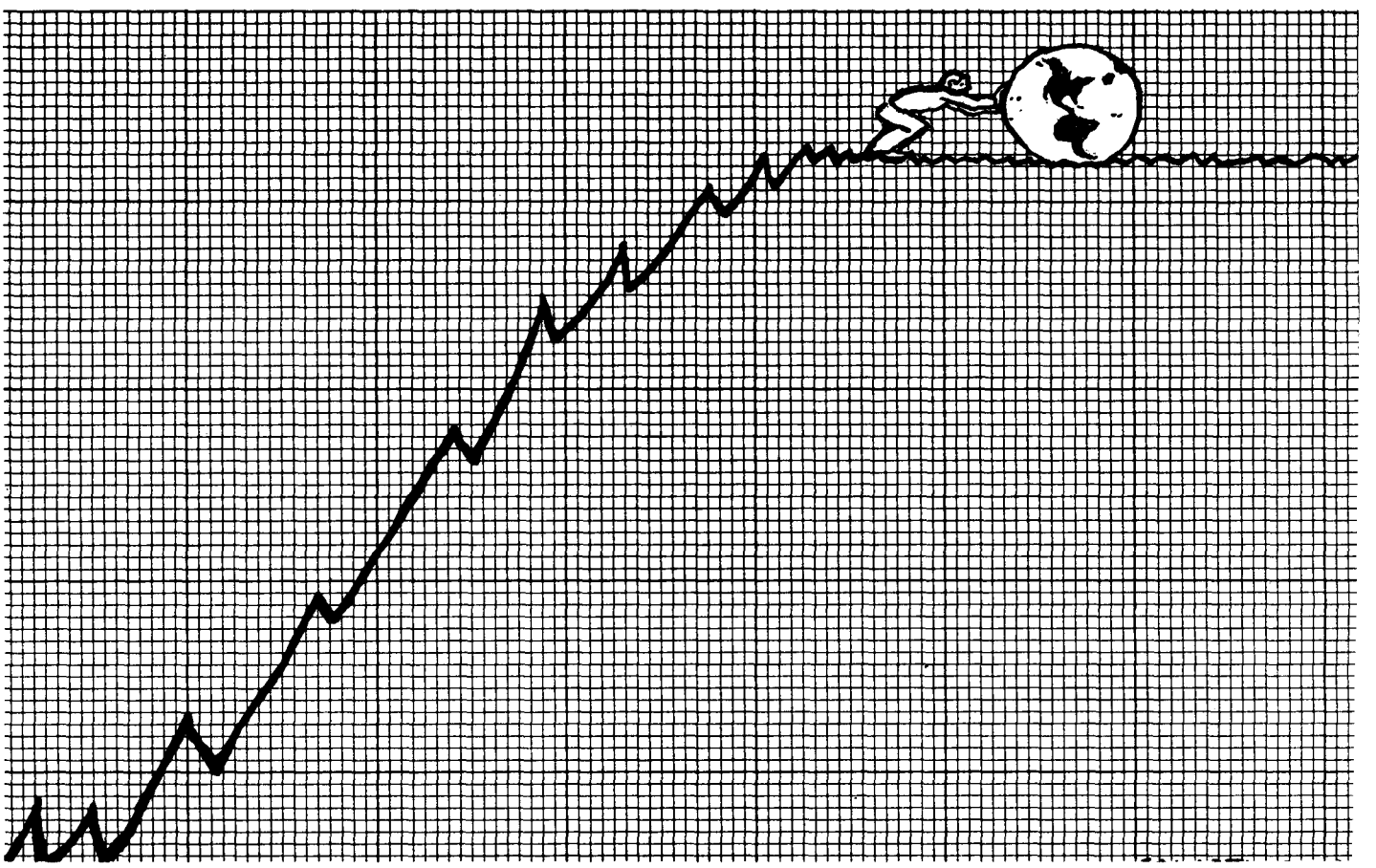
For example, I have always been quite sure that the basic reason for the violent reaction of conservative businessmen against the long hair and sloppy dress of the hippies a few years ago was that, consciously or unconsciously, they considered the hippies a threat to the production-consumption syndrome of our market economy.

Anyone might suppose, after listening to decades of these impassioned defenses of our American system, that our economy had gone unchanged during the whole 200 years of our history. But the fact is that there has been hardly a generation without substantial and significant change. As a result, what we see around us today no more resembles what people were doing in 1776 than a Boeing 747 resembles an oxcart.

The most dramatic part of the change has come in the whole rationale of production and consumption, especially since World War II.

Continued on page 38

Louis B. Lundborg is former chairman of the board, Bank of America.



Stuart Leec

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THE GREAT AMERICAN RESOURCE PILE

American Can is helping to tap a major national resource—garbage. We'll soon start mining Milwaukee's refuse for reusable materials and a fuel.

Garbage: it can pile up into problems for our cities — or it can provide a new source of raw materials. As an international producer of packaging, we are as concerned with the disposal of our products as we are with their use. That's one reason why we established our Americology® business, which will put a large-scale resource recovery plant on stream in Milwaukee this fall. About 20% of the city's household garbage will be reclaimed as usable steel, tin, aluminum, paper and glass. Another 60% will be turned into a fuel and used by the local power company to generate electricity.

Turning discarded material into marketable products and useful energy is a rewarding experience. It's also good business. Seeking that combination has led us to some interesting developments: A way to breed trees that produce as much as 30% more wood. A lettuce wrapping that "breathes" to keep lettuce fresh longer — and saves dramatically on shipping space. An easy-opening pudding package that's boosting milk consumption among traditionally milk-shy French children. If you'd like to know more about the unexpected things we're involved in, write for our latest annual report.

American Can Company
Greenwich, CT 06830

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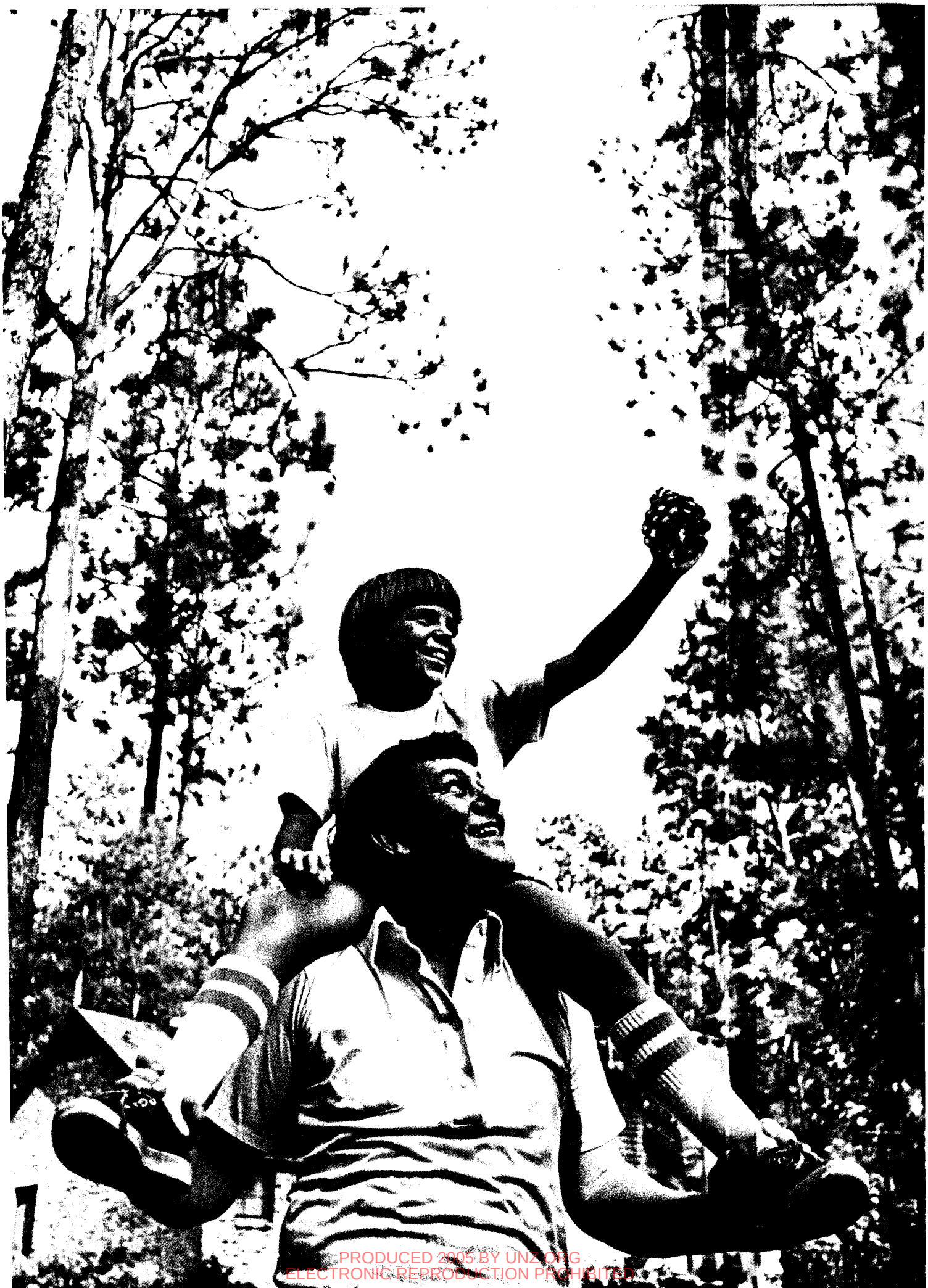

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Why International Paper is helping to develop a 1,000,000-acre forest on land it doesn't own

We want to make sure there'll still be enough wood products around when your children grow up.

Industry sources estimate Americans will use about twice as much paper and wood in the year 2000 as they use today. And the U.S. Forest Service predicts that our nation's commercial timberlands won't be able to keep up with the demand.

One of our solutions is to help private landowners increase their yield. They own about 60 percent of America's forest lands—yet produce only 30 percent of the wood fiber. (Forest products companies own only 13 percent of America's forest lands—and produce 34 percent of the wood fiber.)

We're looking especially to people who own land close to our operations in the South. In 1976 we'll expand our program to the Northeast and West Coast.

How we help landowners

We do it through the Landowner Assistance Program.

We'll show private landowners how to prepare a site, plant, protect, thin, and harvest—at no charge.

This way, they can get the most from their forest land—in some cases, actually *double* their yield.

We'll even find a contractor to do the actual work. Or do the job ourselves at cost.

For this help, IP gets the right to buy a landowner's timber at competitive prices.

We've got more than 300,000 acres in the Landowner Assistance Program now. We're aiming for 1,000,000 before 1980.

A big help. But it's only one thing we're doing to increase the world's wood-fiber supply.

Higher yield from our own lands

We've developed a Supertree—a southern pine that grows taller, straighter, healthier and faster than ordinary pines.

We're experimenting with a new machine that can harvest an entire tree—taproots and all. The roots used to be left in the ground.

We're moving ahead on fertilization techniques. Tree Farm programs. Research.

Will all this be enough to keep the world's fiber supply going strong?

It'll help. But more must be done.

At International Paper, we believe forest products companies, private landowners and the government should work together to develop more constructive policies for managing America's forests.

The wrong policies can make tree farming impossible and force the sale of forest land for other purposes.

The right policies can assure continuation of America's forests—a renewable natural resource.

If you'd like more information about what has to be done to assure the world's fiber supply, write Dept. 163-A, International Paper Company, 220 East 42nd St., New York, New York 10017.

INTERNATIONAL PAPER COMPANY

220 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

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THE COMPETITIVE
We believe in it...

The Modern Little Red Hen.

Once upon a time, there was a little red hen who scratched about the barnyard until she uncovered some grains of wheat. She called her neighbors and said, "If we plant this wheat, we shall have bread to eat. Who will help me plant it?"

"Not I," said the cow.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Not I," said the pig.

"Not I," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen. And she did. The wheat grew tall and ripened into golden grain. "Who will help me reap my wheat?" asked the little red hen.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Out of my classification," said the pig.

"I'd lose my seniority," said the cow.

"I'd lose my unemployment compensation," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen, and she did.

At last it came time to bake the bread. "Who will help me bake the bread?" asked the little red hen.

"That would be overtime for me," said the cow.

"I'd lose my welfare benefits," said the duck.

"I'm a dropout and never learned how," said the pig.

"If I'm to be the only helper, that's discrimination," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen.

She baked five loaves and held them up for her neighbors to see.

They all wanted some and, in fact, demanded a share. But the little red hen said, "No, I can eat the five loaves myself."

"Excess profits!" cried the cow.

"Capitalist leech!" screamed the duck.

"I demand equal rights!" yelled the goose.

And the pig just grunted. And they painted "unfair" picket signs and marched round and round the little red hen, shouting obscenities.

When the government agent came, he said to the little red hen, "You must not be greedy."

"But I earned the bread," said the little red hen.

"Exactly," said the agent. "That is the wonderful free enterprise system. Anyone in the barnyard can earn as much as he wants. But under our modern government regulations, the productive workers must divide their product with the idle."

And they lived happily ever after, including the little red hen, who smiled and clucked, "I am grateful. I am grateful."

But her neighbors wondered why she never again baked any more bread.

At the conclusion of the required business of the 1975 Pennwalt Annual Meeting, Chairman and President William P. Drake, commenting on the state of the company in today's economy, read this, his own adaptation of a modern version of the well-known fable of The Little Red Hen.

For 125 years we've been making things people need–including profits.

PENNWALT
CORPORATION

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ENTERPRISE SYSTEM

...here's why:

Dedication to the simple truths implied in the story of "The Modern Little Red Hen" built this company, and has guided its successful growth.

Today, Pennwalt supplies socially useful products, including chemicals, dental products, pharmaceuticals and equipment. 80 percent of our sales are concentrated in these five major markets:

- Agriculture and food processing
- Chemical process industries
- Environmental cleanup
- Health
- Plastics

But unlike the unfortunate Modern Little Red Hen, we have been able to share our "bread" with the many who have helped produce it, while at the same time fulfilling the other obligations to society expected of a responsible, profitable corporate citizen. This sharing is in the form of equitable wages and fringe benefits, quality products fairly priced, substantial purchases, taxes, the support of charitable and cultural organizations and, from what's left, dividends to our shareholders.

That we have been successful is evidenced by the fact that we started paying a regular dividend on our common stock 114 years ago and have not missed a payment since.

We think our performance bears this out:

Operating Record (Years Ended December 31)					1975
Net Sales	$405,507	$441,010	$504,034	$641,002	**$713,736**
Net Earnings	$ 13,050	$ 16,072	$ 20,113	$ 26,983	**$ 31,633***
Per Share of Common Stock	$ 1.22	$ 1.58	$ 2.13	$ 2.81	**$ 3.25***

*Before special credit of $1,813,000 or $.19 per share.

For 125 years we've been making things people need—including profits.

PENNWALT
CORPORATION
Three Parkway, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 U.S.A.
Chemicals • Dental Products • Pharmaceuticals • Specialized Equipment

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Third Century from page 32

With the post–World War II miracle of production, it was not long before the postwar backlog of consumer demand had been caught up with, and yet the capacity to produce went right on climbing. To absorb the output, it became necessary to stimulate and create markets for more and more of everything.

In part, this was accomplished by bringing more and more people into the mainstream of the market who had never been there before—large minority segments of our own population at home and comparable blocs in the developing nations throughout the world. But to a great extent it involved developing a pattern of greater consumption among previous consumers. The manipulation of consumer demand involved pushing out new models of everything and discarding the old to make room for the new. It became a tremendously wasteful pattern—a fact that was not overlooked by those concerned with protecting the environment.

Before we proceed to project ourselves from this history into the third century, there is one other piece of the picture puzzle that needs to be put into place—the political interface with the economic realities. The political myths and misconceptions about the nature of our economy are myriad. We refer to our economy in various ways. We call it a free enterprise or a private enterprise or a capitalistic economy and society.

"The skills required for repair and rehabilitation can be higher skills and the new jobs more rewarding than those on the assembly line they will replace."

These labels obscure the truth. Our economy is not and never has been *purely* capitalistic or *purely* free enterprise or *purely* anything. It is and has been for a long time a mixed economy. Since the New Deal days of the early thirties, the power of the government over business has become broad and pervasive.

If we are to have any hope of containing government within manageable bounds, any hope of limiting the encroachment of government on individual freedom, it will be only by defining the proper role that government should play in the marketplace. The mix of government and business is vital to our future. And what is our future?

Obviously, no one can be precise in foreseeing and foretelling the events of a whole century. But it is not idle to try to identify some of the key ingredients that will interact and will shape and guide the directions of these next hundred years.

• It will be an era of restrained industrial growth. We cannot sustain our exponential rate of growth in industry based on a finite supply of nonrenewable natural resources.

• As a corollary, we shall have to face the fact that our brief venture into a throwaway economy was a short-range success and a long-range mistake. Our pattern of junking useful things—of discarding such items as clothes, appliances, and cars just to make room for new annual models—never had a sound foundation in basic economics and will have to yield to a more sustainable mode.

• It will again be socially acceptable, as it has been many times in our history—including in wartime but also in most peaceful periods up to World War II—to repair, maintain, and even patch things that have some useful life in them.

• The investment world will have to develop new criteria for selecting stocks and for evaluating performance other than the "growthmanship" standard that has prevailed for the past decade or two.

• We, like the other industrialized nations of the world, will no longer be able to take the natural resources of the world for granted and assume that our access to them is only a matter of reasonable negotiation. The OPEC role in the Mideast-oil scenario will be replayed many times in other parts of the world and with other scarce materials as the prize.

Either we work out international agreements and international machinery to deal with the problem equitably, or we can expect to see cartels, worldwide tensions, threats, and confrontations, always with the overhanging danger that someone will want to resort to military intervention. Even our own Secretary of State allowed the words "military intervention" to enter into the Middle East oil discussions.

• Whichever scenario is played, the action will include a sizable transfer of wealth from the northern to the southern hemisphere and a corresponding shift of a part of the economic, as well as of the political, balance of power.

• In spite of growing nationalism, the multinational corporation will play an increasing role on the world's economic stage; and because the managers of those multinational corporations will have to learn to live with and respect the differing national interests, the multinational corporation may become one of the most potent forces for world peace and order.

• The slowing rate of industrial growth will flatten, even shrink, the number of jobs in industry. This will call for further acceleration of the shift to the service industries. There will be the growing need for repair and maintenance that I have mentioned; but there is a host of other needs waiting to be filled, and most of them are what we call labor-intensive. The replanting and rehabilitation of our abused forests, the restoration of our soil, the recycling of materials, the reclaiming of polluted water bodies—these are only a few examples. The roadbeds of our railroads have got into such rough condition that a friend of mine speaks facetiously of freight cars' being derailed while standing still.

• While the shifting, retraining, and retooling involved in moving the excess workers from factory jobs into the new service jobs will at first be painful and cause some dislocation, the final result can be much more satisfying jobs. The skills required for repair, maintenance, and rehabilitation can be higher skills and the new jobs more rewarding than many of those on the assembly line they will replace.

THERE is a world of cultural and recreational pursuits to be developed; and if that sounds trivial or superficial, we should remember that most of what we produce now in industry is no more essential to survival than is backpacking, bird-watching, or playing the piano. We are only talking about a shift from one kind of use of discretionary time and money to another.

There are signs on the horizon that the American buying public may be ready for some of these changes. A recent survey by the Louis Harris Organization showed that the American public may be turning its back on a life-style that

Continued on page 42

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Gertrude Stein, my father's godmother, once said that in Paris you either have a home and collect art or no home and a wonderful wardrobe. As I was going back to Paris to be married, my decision was easy - a wardrobe! I started with a great man-tailored suit from St. Laurent. Right for dinner at a new show-biz place like Chez Julien. Loosen the tie and you're ready to teach them The Hustle at New Jimmy's. Also loved to poke around Les Puces - the flea markets - for funky stuff like old straw hats... bogie-type fedoras... faded leather lumber jackets. Dad took us to one of his favorites - Restaurant du Marché - for fresh foie gras... movie people took us to Stella for lunch... a good night place is the old market district, Les Halles - it's like Soho in New York - a mix of fashion, art and literary clowns. Still went down to St. Tropez - still dynamite - yacht people, villa people, people in for the day... and they all show up for the 6 P.M. promenade. Our ringside seat was at Senequier.

For dinner, we'd explore nearby towns.. had great bouillabaise at Tétou in Golfe-Juan... then back to dance at Byblos. Then a last drink at Papagayo. Grandpapa called Paris a moveable feast - right on Gramps. And ditto for the rest of France.

P. S. You don't have to be Margaux Hemingway—international model, movie star and the granddaughter of Ernest Hemingway to have that kind of holiday in France. Ask anyone who has been there. Especially, when they went on any of our direct flights from New York, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles or Washington, D. C.

A few other people to ask—your Travel Specialist and Air France. And for your convenience, we honor the American Express card.

AIR FRANCE

makes it easy to get there.

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Dick Dent's job was made in Belgium.

Dick and his family live at 2905 Phillips St. in South Charleston, West Virginia.

He works just ten minutes away at the local Union Carbide plant.

But his job was created thousands of miles away.

You see, Dick's job is to make special chemicals called catalysts.

These catalysts are shipped to Belgium and other countries where Union Carbide plants depend on them to make petrochemicals that are sold abroad.

This interdependence is not unusual in the countries where Union Carbide and its affiliates work.

By manufacturing abroad we have actually increased the foreign demand for many products we make here at home.

This in turn has created more jobs here at home. A recent study shows our investment overseas has directly created at least 2,500 jobs in our plants in the U.S.

Still, we manufacture abroad only when it becomes unfeasible to supply and maintain a market from the U.S.

In fact, we export products from America to 100 foreign countries.

All of which is another way of saying that our international investment is helping improve the standard of living for people abroad and at home.

Including Dick Dent and his family.

UNION CARBIDE

Today, something we do will touch your life.

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Third Century from page 38

is based so heavily on material consumption. An overwhelming majority reported a lack of interest in having new annual models of cars and appliances, in changing clothing fashions every year, in discarding clothes before they wear out.

There was a positive expression of more interest in quality than in quantity, a desire to have things made better and made to last longer; but there was an equally vocal deploring of the wastefulness of our consumption.

These were not spokesmen of any conservation or ecology group testifying; this was a cross-section sampling of the American public.

So we can reasonably assume that the majority of Americans would view without much alarm the kind of future I have been sketching.

"Business, government, the consumer, the media, academe—we are all interdependent. It is time to stop throwing rocks at one another."

But that does not mean that the transition will be made smoothly and easily. There are many possible roadblocks and booby traps. We will survive them better if we face them realistically. Even better than that, we should use this period to do something more affirmative and positive; we must sort out what is important and work for it as a positive value.

So what are the important values that we should strive to keep as ingredients in any mix that may evolve?

The first I would name as a continuing national objective is maintaining the vigor of the private sector—keeping private initiative as dominant, as central, as we humanly can in the whole process of making things and selling things and providing jobs for people. There is going to be an inescapable role for government, both nationally and internationally, in the control of scarce raw materials; and there is going to be a natural tendency to turn to government to do everything else whenever the going gets rough—to provide all the jobs for the displaced and to take over and operate enterprises that seem to be faltering. We already have plenty of evidence here in the United States that there is no magic in government—that it still is an institution run by human beings and subject to human fallibility; and we have overwhelming evidence in other countries that when government gains enough power, it is hard, if not impossible, to appeal to that power when the power is scattered among private hands. So with all its warts and imperfections, we should keep private initiative vigorous and keep government in its proper role of rule maker and regulator.

In this third century, when jobs and places of work may be jolted and dislocated, it should be a national goal that everyone who is physically able should be encouraged and helped to be self-sufficient through gainful work, rather than kept in idleness. This may sound like the Puritan work ethic, but it is more nearly the Buddhist ethic. We have done a cruel, inhuman thing: we have pauperized people by maintaining them, generation after generation, on welfare rolls instead of putting our national stress on restoring those people to self-sufficiency.

This is something we should have addressed ourselves to long ago, in our second cen
critical, more imperative, in ou
it will not be a fringe issue but a ce

Let me try to sum up what all this me
to for each of us:

If we accept the thesis that the need in our c
will be to attempt to make this a more humane w
human beings to inhabit, there is much that needs t
done; and because it involves some reshaping of values in
areas where there has been wide disagreement, there will have to be much consultation between people who have not been in the habit of conferring with one another.

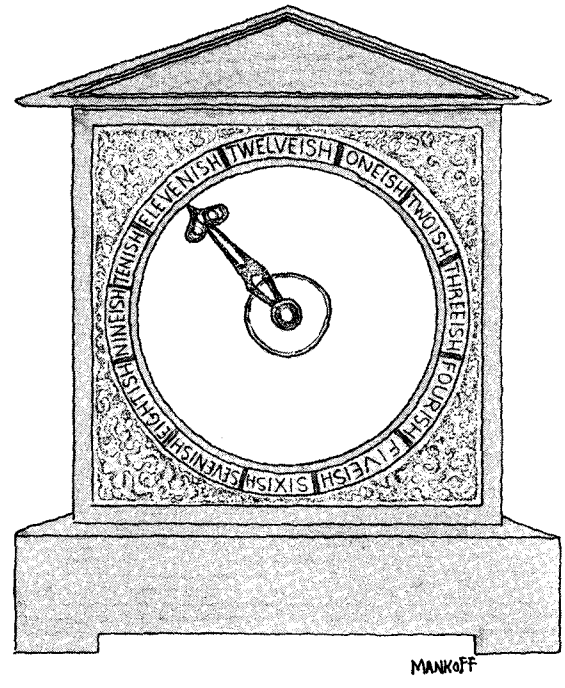
There needs to be much broader consensus on quality of life as the guiding goal of national policy, in which production and consumption may be important, yet secondary. This means getting away from myths and looking at the world as it is; and it also includes recognizing that we must move toward a more restrained pattern of industrial growth.

If we are to do this successfully, without losing our basic freedoms, we must be constantly watchful and guard against the danger that overexpansion of government will destroy the vigor of private initiative.

It is not an easy course to steer, especially since it is not anything that can be done by a handful of people. We are all in this big boat together. The business community has tended to view itself as something apart, something walled off from the society as a whole, and the business community should not be surprised if the rest of the community has picked up the feeling and reacted with some suspicion and hostility.

The fact is that we are all tremendously dependent on one another.

Business, government, the consumer, the media, academe —we are all interdependent. It is time to stop throwing rocks at one another; to stop using cliché epithets to describe others; to recognize that for all the special interests that divide us, there are more common interests that should unite us; and to recognize that there is much to be done, and time is running. ◉



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The Pulse of the Sea

A Monthly Letter from
Jacques-Yves Cousteau,
president, The Cousteau Society

Butchery at Sea

JANUARY, 1973 – Having crossed the Antarctic Circle, *Calypso* heads south along Adelaide Island, en route to Marguerite Bay. I am on the bridge to make a decision about sending my son Philippe in our helicopter, as our vanguard, to the British station at the southern tip of Adelaide. A wind-force five blows; the sea is agitated. Scattered blocks of ice occasionally oblige us to alter our course. It is three o'clock in the morning. A low-hanging sun showers the scenery with a pristine, unreal pink dye. A cavalcade of huge tabular icebergs files across the horizon. Along the coast, a thick mist rises from the sea. The majestic glaciers and ice-capped mountains of Adelaide emerge from clouds of cold steam and stretch upward a silver half-moon. At a cable length, a few orcas loudly cough their blows of vapor. Everything here is water. Water solid, water liquid, water vapor in fog and cloud, water alive. Water immense, overwhelming, but also water little, humble, fragile. Haunted by this majestic beauty, I know that here the sea is only a couple of degrees from freezing solid, that life teems at the edge of death. In the Antarctic, the vulnerability of our magnificent world is exposed, but most humans refuse to read the message.

After having cruised three months in the Antarctic waters, logging 120 helicopter-hours in search of cetaceans, we had spotted only two humpback whales, two groups of sei whales, half a dozen packs of orcas. Not one blue, not one finback! But on many of the beaches lay heaps of bleached whale bones, tragic monuments to human folly. Seals were scarce, but seal hunting was nevertheless about to resume. Every two weeks a liner poured hundreds of tourists onto the Antarctic peninsula. In spite of the treaty signed in 1959, South American countries have introduced claims to slices of the Antarctic pie into their education programs, and they publish irredentist maps. The scientific stations, whatever their nationality, are surrounded by heaps of litter that will remain for near eternity. In another part of the Antarctic continent, the sinister silhouette of the first offshore-drilling ship announced the fate of the last near-virgin continent: today investigations have discovered coal, gas, oil, iron, and about as many ore deposits as in any other land mass.

"Officially," the Antarctic deep-sea coring operation was only for science. The tragic irony of the social systems in which we live is that such monumental hypocrisy is expressed by very sincere people. The drillers, the sailors, the geophysicists, are working for scientific institutes. It is none of the scientists' business, by definition, to worry about what may be done with their findings! The geologist, the nuclear physicist, work for the advancement of knowledge and wash their hands of all responsibility! This syndrome has been institutionalized so that inventors and finders automatically surrender their substance to the elected adventurers who rule our so-called democratic world! And if at the end of a career a respectable scientist revolts and protests, he will be given only half a column of the twenty-third page of a local newspaper. If Ivan Schmovik, candidate for the presidency of Transbosnya, sneezes or declares that Albania interferes in the internal affairs of Transbosnya, every television network will give him prime time. But if Linus Pauling expresses his fears about the future of mankind, it is worth only a newspaper brief. There are no decibels for Nobels. It is high time independent scientists realize that their duty is to help control the applications of their findings. It is high time that all uses of science and technology be constitutionally submitted to the final rulings of a Scientific Supreme Court.

Our fears about the Antarctic are rooted in the feeling that it may be our last wilderness. But the abuses of technology and the forgeries of information are worse elsewhere. Never before has the marine environment been as raped and poisoned as it is today:

- All the urban and industrial effluents of 500 million Europeans and Africans flow freely—practically without treatment—into the Mediterranean, a near-closed sea that was once the cradle of civilization.
- Millions of tons of toxic chemicals are either dumped directly into the ocean or find their way there indirectly by way of river pollution or rain.
- When the supertanker *Olympic Bravery*, the unsinkable pride of the Onassis fleet, recently ran aground on the island of Ushant, off France, no action was taken for one full month. A storm broke the ship in two and generated a near-catastrophic oil spill.
- On April 28, 1976, the barge *Sparkling Waters* was rammed by the Colombian freighter *Tanambi*, twelve miles southeast of Ambrose Light, near the entrance to New York Harbor. One million gallons of chemical wastes—700,000 of which were highly alkaline and the remaining 300,000 highly toxic—were dumped into the sea. The spill drifted to the southeast. With the danger now "out of sight," everyone has gone back to business as usual.

MEANWHILE, swamps are filled. Coastline development ruins the natural and only breeding grounds of thousands of species of marine creatures. Multinational corporations are starting to build their plants in those developing countries that have no environmental-protection regulations. Overfishing is such that the catch of most commercial fish has dropped, on average, 40 percent in the past ten years, in spite of an increase in fishing-fleet tonnage and the use of scientific data and technological aids. An estimated two miles of coral reef are destroyed with crowbars each day to supply souvenir shops—often those of scientific institutions—with shells and coral fragments! Spearfishermen perforate the last groupers and lobsters of the reefs or scare them away from their spawning grounds.

This panorama, far from being exaggerated, is, on the contrary, incomplete

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and understated. In a tragic masquerade—the Law of the Sea Conference—incompetent diplomats and delegates have been working for two years to reverse the recommendations of the Sea Bed Committee and of the very U.N. resolution that gave birth to the conference. The exacerbated pretensions of national sovereignties are imposed on a fluid, elusive element. International by essence, the sea is about to be sacrificed by a treaty that will butcher it into pieces 200 miles wide, as if water were land; that will surrender enormous areas to the good or bad will of each country; that will not regulate deep-sea resources; and that will only soothe the conscience of delegates with its parody of environmental recommendations! In a wiser world (utopian by definition), the delegates would have weighed the origin, the significance, and the distant future of what they were talking about—water. But those who know about the ocean were politely heard once and then eliminated from discussions. The world's nations were represented; the world's waters were not. At the Law of the Sea Conference, there was a lot of law but very little sea.

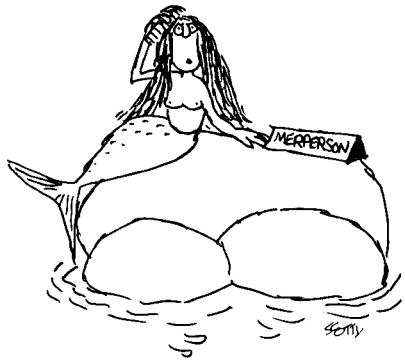
THE universe as we know it—whether the result of blind forces or created by God—originated, maybe in a Big Bang, 15 billion to 20 billion years ago. The initial explosion endowed cosmic material with an unimaginable amount of energy. Our telescopes and radio telescopes give us information about celestial bodies 5 billion light-years away from us, thus revealing some aspects of the universe as they were 5 billion years ago. As a consequence, we have data covering one-third or one-quarter of the age of the universe. Such data confirm the Second Law of Thermodynamics—that, ever since the beginning, an overall degradation of energy has taken place. This process is called entropy. Entropy increases constantly, and, as it does so, the energy of the universe degrades; the cosmos slowly evolves into a cold, simplified, inert, dead chaos. In the process, all matter is submitted to an extremely wide range of temperatures. An important characteristic of all elements in the cosmos is that they are generally found in a gaseous or solid state. Molten iron and molten rock are much more rare than solid or gaseous iron and rock because they remain liquid only in a relatively narrow range of temperatures. The rarest liquid of all, however, is water. Extremely scarce in the universe as an element, water is all the more rare because it remains liquid only between 0 and 100 degrees centigrade, a very narrow margin.

Zooming in from the universe to the little solar system, we find the earth to be the only planet where liquid water is found in any appreciable quantity. And even that quantity is small. The United Nations poster for Environmental Day, June 5, illustrates a comparison that I made fifteen years ago: if the earth were reduced to the size of an egg, all the water in the oceans, the lakes, the rivers, would amount to one drop. In reality, there is, on our planet, a very small, finite, precious, and vulnerable water reserve.

About 3 billion years ago, life as we know it made its appearance in water. It still depends on water. The "life expectancy of life" on earth probably extends until the time the sun becomes a "red giant"—in another 4 billion years. The miracle of life, the adventure of life, is not yet past the halfway mark. Because our species is only about 2 million years old, it could continue to thrive 2,000 times as long as we have already existed. To try to ensure this vast future, we must abandon our individual consciousness and develop a global consciousness. We must be motivated less by individual profit and more by profit for humankind.

Environmental consciousness must be founded on a critical analysis of the past 15,000 years. The conclusions of such an analysis are surprising. The record of Neolithic, protohistorical, and historical man, engraved in fossils, in deep-sea cores, and in buried and submerged clues discovered by archaeologists, is a continuing story of irreversible man-made destruction:

- Countless animals were eliminated by Asians invading America through the Bering Straits.
- A great forest—the Sahara—was destroyed and turned into desert by nomads and shepherds 8,000 years ago.
- Arabia Felix was a famous garden that became the sandy wasteland of Yemen through the destruction of its irrigation system.



- The idyllic Greek islands were stripped of their forests in order to build ships and to provide homes with firewood. They now are sterile rock.
- The Cape Verde Islands, completely bare today, were described by Bartholomeu Dias as a paradise.
- Europe's wolves, bears, rain forests, were exterminated.

Today, in the fury of misguided progress, destruction has become exponential, hysterical, catastrophic! But, paradoxically, the same science and technology used for reckless pilfering of resources have also developed all the means, all the solutions, to reverse the trend. Although the situation at the dawn of the industrial age, more than 200 years ago, was far less serious than it is today, it was hopeless because there was no technology available to reverse the trend. Yesterday our ancestors did not *know*, and they could not *do*. Today we *know*, and we *can*, but we *don't*. We are living as in a nightmare, our hands desperately reaching for the easy, accessible cure while incomprehensible forces paralyze us. Let us awaken from this nightmare, in which any reasonable solution is declared utopian!

Meanwhile, the little pulse of life, thriving on water, still turns shining drops of water into living jewels. At least locally and apparently, life defies the universal law of degradation, creating highly complex organic molecules, organizing chaotic matter into well-programmed and intricate structures of trillions of cells—like my grandchildren. It was the contemplation of life that inspired Father Teilhard de Chardin's dissertation on three infinities: in addition to the infinitely big and the infinitely small, Teilhard told us, there is also the infinitely complex—life. This is what we all should defend.

Cousteau Society Briefs

The Cousteau Society held its second Involvement Day in Anaheim, Calif. More than 3,000 people from the surrounding area joined Jacques Cousteau, his son Philippe, and fifty other environmentalists in lively workshop discussions, covering such vital issues as prospects and problems of nuclear energy; international maritime law; coastal-land regulation; and the possibilities of supplementing agriculture by gleaning food from the sea. As workshops finally came to a close, rock superstars Crosby and Nash ended the day with their own special touch—an evening of environmental songs. ◉

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The Economic Prospect

Business Civilization in Decline
by Robert L. Heilbroner
Norton, 127 pp., $6.95

The Twilight of Capitalism: A Marxian Epitaph
by Michael Harrington
Simon & Schuster, 446 pp., $10.95

Reviewed by Robert Lekachman

IN THIS strange election year, the candidates—like the electorate itself—seem aggressively uninterested in corporate power, solar energy, tax reform, full employment, health care, income redistribution, economic planning, or any other issue. Whether Americans are cynically reacting to Vietnam and Watergate, yearning in a Bicentennial Year for the virtues of the simpler American past, or both, they seem content with three of the very dullest presidential contenders since the twenties.

This political mood is at sharp variance with the frequently apocalyptic tone of much of the social comment that this year has attracted attention, for in addition to the two ominous titles here considered, there have been volumes like Daniel Bell's *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, Tibor Scitovsky's *The Joyless Economy*, Henry Fairlie's *The Spoiled Child of the Western World*, Edgar Z. Friedenberg's *The Disposal of Liberty and Other Industrial Wastes*, and Barry Commoner's *The Poverty of Power*—not to mention my own *Economists at Bay*. Although vast differences of theme, emphasis, quality, and emotion distinguish these polemics one from another, they share certain doubts about the durability of American capitalism, at least as it is now administered. All of them, whether fearfully or hopefully, predict substantial changes in major economic and political institutions and practices.

What do the pundits know that the citizenry has yet to discover? Heilbroner and Harrington, authors of many excellent critiques of American society, here agree that American capitalism in anything like its 1976 form will not last long enough to be saluted on the occasion of our Tricentennial. Drawing upon both Karl Marx and Joseph Schumpeter, Heilbroner—in spare, lucid language—argues that capitalism (which, as Marx always insisted, is premised upon unlimited growth and expanding profits) is bound to falter when profits begin to decline under the pressure of resource exhaustion, the redistributive claims of the Third World, and the accelerating ability of organized labor in interdependent economies to extract wage and benefit gains far in excess of productivity improvements. Heilbroner believes that although capitalism may stave off its own demise in the next generation or two by turning to state planning under corporate domination, the respite is bound to be temporary. For so long as capitalism adheres to democratic forms it will not succeed in adjudicating claims upon the national product on the part of labor and capital which add up to more than slowly expanding economies can produce. Whether planned or unplanned, economies under such pressure usually resort to the printing press in order to satisfy, but for the moment only, the dollar claims of all groups. The resulting inflation is an intolerable burden upon thrift and enterprise, as destructive to democratic legitimacy as the group conflicts that it seeks to soften.

In the end, then, as Heilbroner tells the tale, authoritarian governments will displace increasingly weak and discredited parliamentary institutions. Although he does not discuss their situations, Italy and England may well serve as cautionary instances of societies that have resorted to inflation to resolve incompatible group claims and now stand in danger of serious erosion of their liberties. Heilbroner's case is persuasively argued. Whether or not one is convinced depends in the first instance on the reality of resource limitation and consequent limitations upon future growth rates. These are issues of heated controversy among the experts. One may quarrel, in the second instance, with the validity of the proposition that authoritarian governments are necessarily or even usually more efficient than the untidy parliamentary forms to which we are accustomed. In the global argument the cards are stacked against democracy for the simple reason that the corruptions and

"Mr. Manning, my mother wants to know if she may borrow a well-turned phrase."

Robert Lekachman is Distinguished Professor of Economics at Lehman College (CUNY) and author of Economists at Bay: Why the Experts Will Never Solve Your Problems.

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How Allis-Chalmers People are Celebrating the Bicentennial

17 for 76

American diversity is evident in the many ways we've chosen to celebrate our 200th birthday. Allis-Chalmers people believe the occasion calls for dedicated service to their fellow citizens, and from coast to coast they're working to make things better in...

1
Gadsden, Alabama
...where they're building a library with shelves and reading tables, and supplying books and literature for parents, counselors and patients at a local drug counselling center.

2
Lexington, South Carolina
...by building and repairing playground equipment for public schools, providing repairs and staff help for a facility for children in temporary family difficulty, and making basic repairs to a school for retarded children as well as providing audio equipment for it.

3
New Orleans, Louisiana
...they're initiating a blood replacement program and spearheading similar efforts among 70 other area businesses, in cooperation with the New Orleans Blood Center.

4
Sanford, North Carolina
...in helping a center for retarded children by renovating the playground and improving electrical and mechanical facilities.

5
Little Rock, Arkansas
...by furnishing labor and materials to help rebuild a community center destroyed by fire, and providing guides and transportation for the national convention of the American Council for the Blind.

6
York, Pennsylvania
...where they're funding sidewalk ramps for the disabled in the town square, designing a display garden and installing bascule gates to control lake levels in Farquhar Park.

7
Norwood, Ohio
...in helping a YMCA repair and refinish its gym floor, replacing lounge furniture, and providing volunteer program leadership. They're also helping high school students lay out and print a class-written Bicentennial history of Norwood.

8
LaPorte, Indiana
...just about all A-C people, active and retired, are involved in three separate programs: equipping craft and recreation rooms and helping to train counselors in a transient-treatment/evaluation center for young persons; repairing, repainting and landscaping a home for the elderly; and organizing a program of male volunteers at the county hospital.

9
Phoenix/Harvey, Illinois Area
...they're working with the Village of Phoenix citizen's committee to grade, sod and provide heavy-duty playground equipment for a recreation park. And helping the Harvey Public Library develop a master catalog, purchase microfilm equipment and train library personnel to operate it.

10
Wichita Falls, Texas
...by sponsoring a journalism contest for high schoolers, initiating a Junior Achievement program, and organizing a volunteer program for a local hospital.

11
Independence, Missouri
...where they're providing labor to repair the historic courthouse belfry, clock and bell; providing instruments, music stands and uniforms for the civic band; and contributing labor and materials to a renovation at Temple College for the Deaf.

12
Topeka, Kansas
...by providing the construction equipment and working with county personnel to help grade a community amphitheater, the key Bicentennial project for all the people of Topeka.

13
West Allis, Wisconsin
...people at the A-C headquarters are in several programs, such as FIN (Friend in Need) services for the elderly including emergency transportation; tree planting; programs for A-C retirees, and providing audio-visual tools to the local police drug unit for educational work with young people.

14
Port Washington, Wisconsin
...where they're providing labor and equipment to help clear, grade and surface a bike trail.

15
Appleton, Wisconsin
...A-C people are helping to furnish one 20-bedroom halfway house for alcoholics, as well as planning a continuing program to help combat alcoholism.

16
Portland, Oregon
...they're providing labor and materials to build a personnel building at a Babe Ruth League baseball field.

17
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
...A-C volunteers are assisting the staff of an inner city housing development in preparing an audio-visual information piece about the project, while others are helping the staff of The Ranch, a center for aid to the young retarded and emotionally disturbed, with time, talent and equipment. The same group is assisting Commando Project I, an alternative school for inner city youths.

We thought you'd like to know.

ALLIS-CHALMERS

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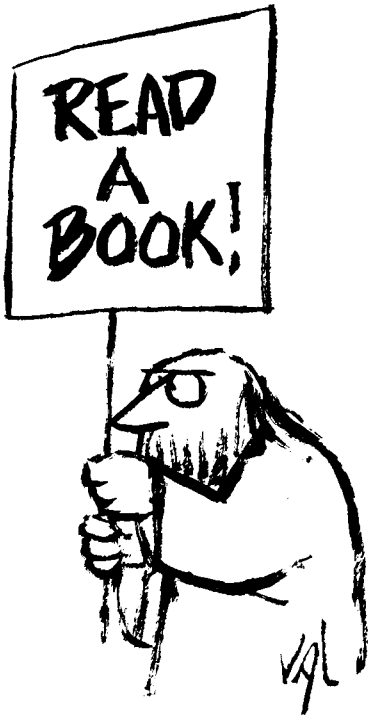
cowardice of parliamentary politicians are highlighted by a free press and a host of competitive journalists. Only rarely do the still comparatively free citizens of the West glimpse the discords and savage conflicts of Russian and Chinese politics. It is sensible to wonder whether the succession crisis already obsessing the Chinese is any less costly even in strictly economic terms than are the routine defects of parliamentary democracy.

Read in conjunction with Heilbroner's striking *Inquiry into the Human Prospect* of last year, this scenario for capitalist decline implies this consolation to the middle-aged: unless truly remarkable advances in geriatrics are soon made, none of us are going to be around to suffer the the cataclysms in store for our heirs. Heilbroner himself draws an additional refreshment from his forecasts: "Who," he inquires, "will regret the passing of the conception of the 'private' ownership of wealth that is patently social in origin and impact, or the end of the market mechanism with its efficiency in the attainment of every purpose save that of human development?"

HARRINGTON'S contribution is much longer and considerably more difficult to read. Rather more than half of the volume consists of a scholarly effort to extract from the vast corpus of Marx and Engels literature a Marxism usable by democratic socialists. Harrington is himself a veteran of the Catholic Worker Movement and present chairman both of the Socialist Party, U.S.A., and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, of which it is an offshoot. Harrington conducts a running argument with Daniel Bell, Karl Popper, and others who have read Marx too simply as a determinist who insisted upon a direct connection between technological change and the superstructure of politics and culture. An exceedingly fair-minded polemicist, Harrington concedes that Marx and Engels frequently provided useful evidence for the determinists. Nevertheless, Harrington returns from his excavations in the Marxist mountain with a very different Marx—one who stresses extensive interplay among technology, politics, art, literature, and economic organization, all within the context of a society "illuminated" by the culture of private property. In Michael Harrington's reading, Marx is a humanist, early and late. The Marx of *Kapital*, written in the 1860s, is as angered by the alienation of the worker from himself and his labor as the young Marx of the 1844 *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*. Moreover, Harrington's Marx is a democrat quite aware that his own theory, no set of graven tablets, is itself capable of evolving with history.

This Marx, who by no special coincidence would undoubtedly sign up with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, is the one whom Harrington applies to the contemporary American economy. For reasons somewhat similar to Heilbroner's, he asserts that this economy is in crisis. It is a crisis foreseen at least in broad outline by Marx. Capital is becoming increasingly concentrated. Our domestic giants are less and less capable of earning profits satisfactory to their owners and managers or of running the domestic economy at politically tolerable levels of inflation, employment, and real income.

Displaying a respect for the toughness and ingenuity of the capitalist order akin to Heilbroner's, Harrington accordingly does not anticipate an immediate transition from capitalism to socialism. Nevertheless, in the spirit of Marx, Harrington is convinced that capitalist private property, once a progressive influence upon economic growth, has turned into a barrier against further progress. Harrington is more cheerful than Heilbroner about future prospects, as befits a political activist. He foresees a socialism unmarred by the dictatorship of the proletariat, an ancient article of faith recently discarded by both French and Italian communists.



The stage beyond capitalism can be a truly democratic community blessed by sharply decreased inequality of income, wealth, and social condition, full employment in fulfilling jobs, and participatory planning of investment and consumption priorities. It may be that what Harrington has in mind for the United States, Sweden in substantial measure has already achieved.

Both of these admirable books, the products of two of our best students of society, are as plausible in their distinctive ways as any social prophecy is likely to be. They are also two examples, whatever their hopes or fears of things to come, of a pervasive pessimism among intellectuals of liberal and radical persuasion about the immediate possibility of progressive change in the political climate to which I earlier alluded. When the outlook in 1976 is dismal for such modest advances as passage of a genuine full-employment bill, thirty years after the initial drive for such a measure, or universal health coverage, a generation after Harry Truman lost his battle for the principle, it is only human for social critics to avert their gaze from the depressing current scene. Both utopianism and antiutopianism flourish during stagnant social periods.

American life is notoriously volatile. Yet the candidates now being considered by the voters are the blandest and most traditional of presidential candidates. Gerald Ford is a considerably less literate Herbert Hoover. To his previous roles Ronald Reagan has added an impersonation of a third-rate Theodore Roosevelt. Wee Jimmy is himself a mixture of a more urbane William Jennings Bryan and the Hubert Humphrey who used to exult in the politics of joy. The present poverty of political imagination, which has made Jerry Brown's mélange of Zen Buddhism, simple living, and lowered expectations hot political property, and which has converted Jimmy Carter's politics of love and trust into a ticket to a presidential nomination, may yield with breathtaking abruptness to intellectual excitement and political ferment, much as the somnolent fifties suddenly turned into the excitable sixties. Should better times come in American politics, tracts like Harrington's and Heilbroner's will be some of the materials out of which more intelligent responses to American problems will be constructed than are now acceptable.

Both books deserve to be read as sophisticated diagnoses of the American condition and intelligent speculations on the shape of the American future. ◉

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Less volume and more harmony on those bicentennial trumpets, please!

Let's stop tooting our horns and face the music together—even if it means taking some music lessons.

America's bicentennial is not just an occasion for a self-congratulatory birthday spree. It's also a timely occasion for an historic pause to re-examine our priorities. To question whether perhaps our country has behaved like a rags-to-riches father who can afford to gratify his children's every request, only to find that his indulgence has destroyed their initiative and moral force.

Most working Americans now routinely expect more pay, longer vacations with pay, full sickness and accident insurance, generous leaves of absence, expanding retirement pensions including broader survivor benefits, and a whole package of other "extras" with not all that much thought given to matching productivity. The non-workers now routinely expect periodic increases in social security, food stamps, welfare, unemployment benefits, and on and on.

Many of these benefits are what our fathers and forefathers struggled for. And many are good. The growing problem is in the way they are being taken for granted . . . the idea of benefits without responsibility. America today is engulfed by the "psychology of entitlement."

How did things drift so far? To quote a phrase, "We have met the enemy, and he is us." All of us. Individually and collectively. Government, Business, Industry, Labor, Education and the Professions. We're the ones who let the situation get out of hand, letting outgo exceed income.

What has happened to our initiative and to the American economic system? Has our once powerful, driving initiative been replaced by a "something-for-nothing" syndrome?

Has government grown too big, too costly, too arrogant, too intrusive, too corrupt? Have each of us, as individuals, grown too complacent, too greedy, too lazy, too submissive, too forgiving? Isn't it time each of us re-examined our attitudes and actions in our society, our jobs and personal lives?

Seriously now, are we truly setting a good example for our children? Are we really giving a full day's work for a full day's pay? Do we vote in every election? Do we write our Senators and Congressmen? Are we working actively now for the candidates of our choice? Do we respond to newspaper and television editorials when the point of view expressed differs from our own? Can we honestly say to ourselves that we are doing everything possible to correct the inequities?

How can we point to others, blame others for going too far, for not practicing the Golden Rule, when each of us in all probability falls short of performing as free concerned American citizens should?

Our bicentennial offers each of us a beautiful opportunity to review our own personal activities, the day to day activities of our families, the strengths of our free enterprise system, to rethink our national priorities and how to put those priorities in proper order. Let's do everything as individuals we can possibly do to help our country retain its position as a world leader in ideas and human values.

Isn't that really the prettiest music for our bicentennial trumpets? If we need to take music lessons, we'd better take them. We, as individuals, by our actions, inactions and apathy, are probably accounting for most of the sour notes.

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THE POLICY MAKERS

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Failure Raised To High Art

Miss Herbert (The Suburban Wife)
by Christina Stead
Random House, 308 pp., $8.95

Reviewed by Stephen Koch

CHRISTINA STEAD is now seventy-four years old, and it has been thirty-six years since she published the great novel of family life, *The Man Who Loved Children*, on which her reputation is perhaps too exclusively based. She remains prolific. Last year she published *The Little Hotel*, a few years before that *Dark Places of the Heart*, and shortly before that a collection of four novellas called *The Puzzleheaded Girl*. But until I saw the dust jacket of her most recent novel, *Miss Herbert (The Suburban Wife)*, I had never seen a photograph of Christina Stead. She has a marvelous face. Her shoulders are firm and square. Her head inclines forward slightly, seemingly listening, curious. Her eyes are both warm and intensely intelligent. She carries her years well. Her smile in particular has a special energy—I might even say a youthful energy. Anyway, it is the energy of curiosity, of the capacity for pleasure—the smile of someone just hearing something interesting and new. It is strange to remember that this charming face belongs to the great artist who knows so much—all there is to know, in fact—about hatred.

I have not read all of Christina Stead's novels. There are now at least thirteen of them, and most are difficult to obtain. But her great subject in those that I do know is failure—acrid, mean, pettifogging, money-grubbing, *little* failure. Because she writes about failure, about the world's invariably petty revenge on human hope—and the failures of women above all—she also writes about rage and bitterness. These are the only things of any scale left to people who have, more or less, nothing left to lose. The fury in her books is rarely the anger that feminists promote as a step toward liberation. It is the rage that drives people to death, the rage of the headache that won't go away, the check that is never large enough, the coat that never fit properly. The amplitude, the richness, of Stead's imagination consists in knowing the entire psychology of what it means to have plenty of nothing.

She is also a realist with a life history of political commitments on the left; but in her novels, she is too true and too inspired a psychologist to ideologize her thinking, and the dreary pietistic sententiousness that infects so much of the literature of the left is nowhere found in her prose. On the deepest level, her political impulses seem expressed primarily in her choice of realism itself, a choice that also springs from her sensibility as an artist. Hope, fact, failure, hatred, and hope again: these are what she sees, and these are her subjects.

As a realist, Stead naturally treats these vicissitudes in the context of love and money, and so it is no accident that her masterpiece should be a novel of family life, *The Man Who Loved Children*. There is little that I can add to the brilliant introduction by Randall Jarrell in that book's second edition. The *fury* of failure finds its most unforgettable expression in Henny, the mother, and it gives her a bizarre stature. Married to a brainlessly optimistic petty bureaucrat with big ideas, a small salary, and a houseful of children, surrounded by the piping voices of the brats who trap her, sunk in absolute resistance to the failed life that has happened to her, Henny is filled with loathing and at war with the baby talk and high-minded bull incessantly spread by her husband, the Sam she contemptuously dubs "the Big-Me"—"*the man who loves children*," she shrieks, strangling on her sarcasm. Within this violently harsh vision, Stead displays a tender and transcendently precise grasp of the minds of children. Yet the bitterness never relents. She transforms loathing into a high poetry in Henny's magnificent tirades, her black silences. The raucous parental war, the children's baffled love—it is the oldest story ever told, culminating in the moment be-

A "Writer's Writer"

CHRISTINA STEAD was born in Australia in 1902, but has lived in the United States, England, and France, as well as in Australia. During the late twenties she worked as a teacher and clerk in England and France. In the thirties, her fiction first appeared, beginning with *The Salzburg Tales* in 1934. She came to the United States in the late thirties, and lived there until the early forties, and it was in the United States that she wrote *The Man Who Loved Children*, published in 1940. In America, she married William Blech, a banker who wrote novels under the pseudonym "William Blake." (He died in 1968.) Christina Stead now resides in a suburb of Sydney, Australia.

She has been steadily productive, yet for reasons not easy to explain her reputation has been slow to develop. *The Man Who Loved Children*, for example, is a book genuinely rescued from oblivion. It had been out of print for almost fifteen years when Elizabeth Hardwick read it in 1955, promptly recognized its stature, and wrote an enthusiastic article about it in *Encounter*. Miss Hardwick is also said to have pressed the book on the poet Randall Jarrell, who was, in turn, overwhelmed by its achievement, and who wrote the long and brilliant essay that is the introduction to the book's second edition, published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston. The stature of Stead's art has been acknowledged by some of the most celebrated names in literature, from Rebecca West to Robert Lowell to Lillian Hellman. Possibly because of these endorsements, she tends to be known as a "writer's writer," but more likely it is because as a writer she has conducted her career in a way that is an almost heroic model of strength and devotion to her work. —S.K.

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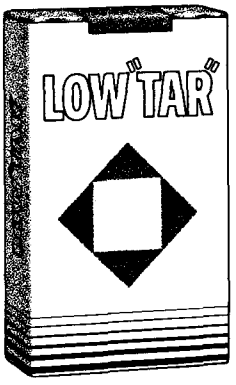

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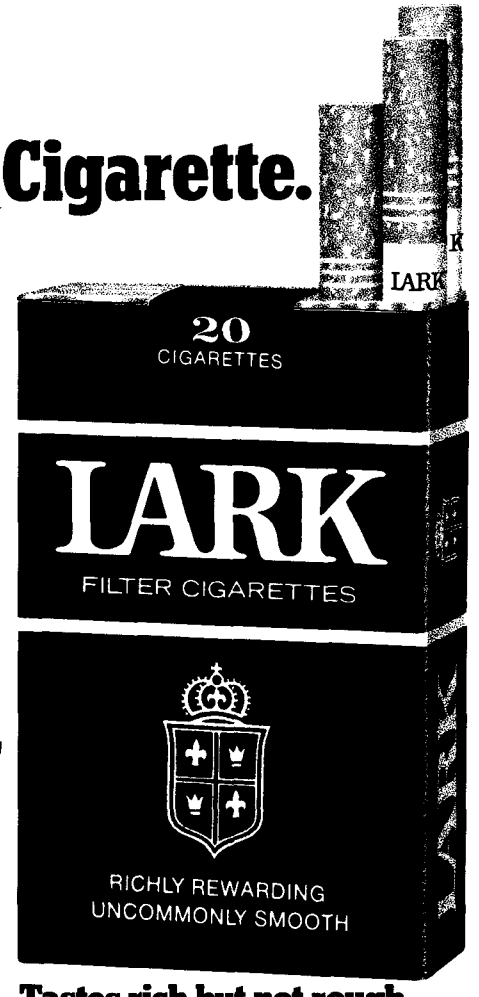

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yond pity and terror of Henny's suicide, as the absolute humiliation of what little love and little money she has conjoin in murderous hatred at last. *The Man Who Loved Children* has an almost primordial power: complete with its wicked stepmother, it is *the* fairy tale almost unbearably transformed into realism's nightmare.

Christina Stead is past master of the plain style of English expository fiction. It is perhaps for this reason that her originality as a writer is so difficult to define. Within the context of that plain style, she plays her options with almost baffling freedom. A bizarre rarity among writers, she is the master of a style, but one who has no particular manner. In *The Man Who Loved Children* that style is heightened to poetry. In *The Little Hotel* it is distorted to something near the surreal. One reads this latter variety of Stead's work puzzled, almost bored. And yet since I first read the novella in 1969, I doubt a month has gone by without my remembering the final moment, when Stead's puzzleheaded girl, Honor Lawrence, a free spirit destroyed in the bohemian Village of the forties, turns on one of her sometime friends: "Honor pushed him away roughly and spat. 'Love! I spit, I spit it out,' she cried. 'It was all lies. It kills you. It's to get you. There's no love at all.' "

Miss Herbert (The Suburban Wife) likewise partakes of this strange, flat, elusive power. The theme is sex, but the story is once again an old one—almost atavistically old-fashioned, in fact. During the thirties, a young suburban British woman, Eleanor Herbert, a beautiful, athletic blonde, gets her degree, enters an ordinary engagement, and then breaks it off. She spends a few years in a breathless and yet strangely disassociated discovery of her sexual power over men, until, around the age of thirty, she panics about marriage and security and respectability. To orient herself, she promptly marries an entirely unsuitable, absurdly limited man, soon has two children, and then the marriage fails. The failure is a long time in becoming complete, and as it does Eleanor is put even more completely out of touch with that erotic power which is her only source of authenticity. At forty, she who had always wanted to be a writer finds herself a failure grubbing for money on the far fringes of the literary world, doing reader's reports for publishers and the like. The treatment of her struggle over money —time moving from check to check—is told with Stead's preternatural precision.

Somewhere around the time she turns fifty, Eleanor meets a rich older man, a publisher, and begins a bizarre affair with him. The old man is apparently an impotent voyeur, and Eleanor merely poses nude for the adoration of his fantasies. Worshiped and untouched at last, she flowers; meanwhile his patronage and acumen guide her into becoming a literary agent with some financial security. The man then dies, leaving her nothing in his will. Eleanor is almost sixty. With the singular bizarre exception of this affair, she has been out of touch with herself almost every minute of her life, possessed only of a latent erotic power she does not understand and could not use even if she did. Her bland incomprehension of the disaster that her life has been is strange. She has always, like all Stead's characters, been trapped in a repetitive pattern of hope and failure, and the book ends with the eternal would-be writer hoping again: "So let us work, my pet. Soon I will have my pension, and then I am going to write the story of my life; then I will really get down to it; and it will open some eyes."

One might say that the bland flatness of *Miss Herbert*'s prose—in such contrast to that of *The Man Who Loved Children*—is a literary equivalent of frigidity. The plain style is, in fact, far more original than it first appears: Jarrell remarks on Stead's *speed* as a writer; this speed becomes outright strange in *Miss Herbert*. The style suggests an ample, old-fashioned tale plainly told. But then we linger for ten pages over what seems a random conversation, and five years vanish in a sentence. Using the least original of expository styles, Stead propounds an almost baffingly eccentric exposition. All of this somehow establishes all the more deeply the coldness of the tone. Vis-à-vis Miss Herbert, Stead on every page holds the reader in some icy region between compassion and contempt. In consequence, we barely care, and yet oddly continue to just barely care. The final impact is real, but chilling. Just as Eleanor never grasps the source of her own energy, Stead's account of her failure, in a style that is an eccentric variety of omniscience, blandly refuses to explain anything to the reader. The pattern of hope, failure, and sexual dissociation merely repeats itself again and again, like poverty. And yet this bizarre perspective—the frigid way we are induced to both care and not care about this uninteresting woman's failed little life—itself finally constitutes a kind of pathos. Remembering the book, one really feels that pathos, remembers all its shabby hopeful details. But to speak of that pathos is to see your own breath. ◉

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JOHN DEERE

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A Cold Eye on the Home Front

V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II
by John Morton Blum
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich,
384 pp., $12.95

Reviewed by Walter Arnold

THE V was certainly not for Vision. That at least is one of the main points of this dense, stimulating, but puzzling study of the American home front in World War II. The book is full of highly quotable stories, and no story that John Morton Blum retails illustrates his point about our neglect of national ideals better than that of Lloyd Brown, a black soldier who recalled the reception he and several others got during the war in a lunchroom in Salina, Kans. The owner told them, "You boys know we don't serve colored here." They knew it, but ignored the owner's repeated injunction and "just stood there inside the door, staring at what we had come to see—the German prisoners of war who were having lunch at the counter. . . ." True, President Roosevelt, under the threat of a great black march on Washington to be led by A. Philip Randolph, did issue in 1941 the watershed Executive Order 8802 barring discrimination in government and the defense industries. But as the author writes, "he also did not care enough about civil rights to risk losing Southern support for his party or to risk civil strife in wartime." As FDR often said after Pearl Harbor, "Dr. New Deal" had now been replaced by "Dr. Win-the-War."

In view of its episodic structure, a more accurate subtitle for the book would be "Selected Topics in Politics and American Culture During World War II." Though Blum's work is mainly about the home front, it does not pretend to be in any sense comprehensive. The choice of topics was made, according to the author, who is Woodward Professor of History at Yale, to "help explain how the wartime experiences of Americans, nurtured in their culture and expressed in their politics, shaped American expectations about the postwar period at home and abroad." In Blum's view the war neither changed things utterly nor left anything just as it was. So, "the hero of World War II stood for blueberry pie and blond sweethearts, for the family farm and for Main Street, for perseverance and decency—for Americanism as a people's way of being. Brave men, those heroes, and nice guys, too, but it was in the folk culture of the national past, ebullient still in their own day, that they fought for their brave new world." At the same time "free enterprise," which might reasonably be assumed to be part of the credo of the folk culture, was transformed by the exigencies and opportunism of the home front "into a cliché that big business glibly used to sanction its size and wealth and to arrogate to corporate management credit for the enormous growth of plant and productivity that government had underwritten." It is worth stressing that from 1939 to 1945 the gross national product of this country went from $91 billion to $166 billion, the most phenomenal such occurrence in world history.

Professor Blum casts a cold eye upon all this, and some of the best sections of his book are those that deal with the wartime government policies and their effects on business, economics, and the media—and with the continuing postwar effects of those policies. As one might expect from the editor of the Morgenthau diaries and the author of the excellent *Roosevelt and Morgenthau*, the material here on the President and his Secretary of the Treasury is also authoritative and usually absorbing.

But Professor Blum is equally skillful in dealing with figures such as Wendell Willkie and Henry A. Wallace, who, counterparts of each other as they surely were, made authentically visionary foils to their expeditious and necessitarian fellow Americans. In fact the author has a marked and felicitous gift for brief, often devastating, descriptions of the characters caught in the dramatic and farcical circumstances of what is still, to those of us born before it, *the* war.

But I wish there had been in this book more on Rosie the Riveter and rather less on Roosevelt. Professor Blum is essentially a historian of *political* culture, and his treatment of popular culture and indeed *culture* culture, though sensitive and telling here and there, is less satisfactory. One's confidence is not inspired by sentences like these: "Seen close at hand or from afar, war grated on the sensibilities of the artist. It always had."

Granted the necessity to be skeptical and even cynical when one is generalizing about politics, it is much more dangerous to generalize about people's values, dreams, and goals. It is too cynical, and probably wrong, to say, as Blum does, "The President's Four Freedoms sounded all right to his constituents, but they wanted mostly to know just what was in it for them." Elsewhere the author actually seems to agree with a commentator who said that among the world powers only America was "fighting this war on imagination alone." All one can say in rejoinder is, Some Imagination!

THIS is not exactly a debunking book—it is, after all, difficult to debunk a great victory over what was manifestly a great evil, as the author would agree. But the book is resolutely anti-idealistic, and it is not at all clear to me why the author wishes it to be so. His overall view that the aims of the war were pragmatic is finally puzzling, since his arguments do not convince this reader that those committed to the war effort were interested in nothing loftier than beating the enemy and bringing back pleasure-driving.

The best and most consistently interesting sections in Blum's book are those that deal with the position and treatment of "outsiders" during the war: Italian-Americans, Jews, the issei-nisei, and, in an especially fine chapter, blacks. Paradoxically, although the author does not make much of it here, the great majority of these people, suffering from the real deformities of American popular culture, kept fighting not just for victory but for a vision of freedom. And in the end the lights really did go on again all over the world. For a little while. ◉

Walter Arnold, former editor of Commonweal, *is a free-lance writer and book editor.*

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Trade Winds

by William Cole

Poems with Real Life

As a fellow anthologist, I can say that Antonia Fraser's *Scottish Love Poems* (Penguin, $2.95) is one of the best ever. Lady Antonia states that "the purpose of this anthology is first and foremost to give pleasure," and that it does, that it does. About half is modern poetry, including many poems by Scotland's greatest contemporary, Hugh MacDiarmid. Scottish words like "swankies," "besene," and 'shuilfie" are footnoted, and most of the poems have real life in them. And why not, for a change, run an old poem in this column? A really lovely one like Robert Burns's "Ye Banks and Braes"?

Ye banks and braes o' bonie Doon,
How can ye bloom sae fresh and fair!
How can ye chant, ye little birds,
And I sae weary fu' o' care!
Thou'll break my heart, thou warbling bird,
That wantons thro' the flow'ring thorn,
Thou minds me o' departed joys,
Departed, never to return.

Oft hae I rov'd by bonie Doon,
To see the rose and woodbine twine;
And ilka bird sang o' its Luve
And fondly sae did I o' mine;
Wi' lightsome heart I pu'd a rose,
Fu' sweet upon its thorny tree;
And my fause Luver staw my rose,
But, ah! he left the thorn wi' me.

Writers' Camps

I'know how reviewers are, always picking, finding fault—things like "How could he author ignore the fact that . . . ?" Me, oo. But I had to look hard to find anything of importance missing from *Literary New York: A History and Guide*, by Susan Edmiston and Linda D. Cirino (Houghton Mifflin, just out, $12.95 cloth, $7.95 paper). My quibble: "In the fifties, the White Horse Tavern at 567 Hudson Street became a literary hangout when first Norman Mailer and later Dylan Thomas held court there." True enough, but Delmore Schwartz also held court there, and furthermore, nowhere in the book is Schwartz, a very New York writer, mentioned. But everybody else seems to be, particularly Howells, James, Hart Crane, James Baldwin, O'Neill, Van Vechten, and Van Doren. Fascinating illustrations of people and places, maps, notes, a good index, and such passages as this:

Benchley had left his family in Scarsdale and went to live first at the Algonquin and then at the Royalton, where he had a two-room suite. With its mahogany trim and cross-latticed windows, the place looked Victorian. "Oh, so they think they're Victorian," he said. "I'll show them something Victorian, if that's the way they want to play." He furnished the room with a dark red rug, red draperies, a red velvet tasseled cover on an oak table, brass student lamps with green shades and three pictures of Queen Victoria. He collected books for their titles alone —such works as *Forty Thousand Sublime and Beautiful Thoughts, Success with Small Fruits, Talks on Manure*—and acquired so many oddities—a cello and music stand, a model of the *Erie* steamboat, a collection of beer mugs and Brueghel prints—that his motto became "Dig It Up, Dust It Off, and Give It to Benchley."

Cannabis

Here are two sides to a question, all right—con and pro marijuana. By now your bookstore should have (inevitable title) *Keep off the Grass: A Documented Account of Marijuana's Destructive Effects*, by a Columbia professor of anesthesiology, Gabriel G. Nahas (Reader's Digest/Crowell, $7.95). The subtitle encompasses all—lots of talk about controlled experiments, testimonies before committees, and, somehow startling to me, a blurb on the jacket by Jacques-Yves Cousteau.

On the other hand, we have *Cooking with Grass*, by George Vye and Stewart Grossman (Sun River/Two Continents, paper, $3.95), a book for those who would rather eat it than light up a jay and take a toke or two. The authors make three important points: fry the cleaned grass in a dry pan until brown; use one teaspoon or less per person, depending on the virility of the pot; and third, remember it will take a couple of hours for Mary Jane to get to work. Recipes for salads, spreads, main courses, desserts, and such funnies as "Stewart's Grandma's Potato Pancakes"—reads like any cookbook except for that secret ingredient.

No Feats too Big

Last year we had *Sneaky Feats* (about to appear in paper), and this year we have *More Sneaky Feats*, by the same two cards, Tom Ferrell and Lee Eisenberg (Sheed & Ward, just out, $6.95). They tell about things you always wanted to do, but never knew how: minor magic tricks with cards or string, tearing a phone book in half (you roast it!), standing an egg on end, mastering invisible writing, etc. Plus a couple of really useful, nontricky things such as making a *Boeuf Wellington* using canned mushrooms, refrigerator biscuits, and canned liver pâté, or tying a bow tie (which I go half-mad trying to do twice a year), or picking up a tennis ball with your racket (although they only give two ways, the side-of-the-sneaker and the shovel method—and *not* the one I want to learn, where you sort of bounce the ball from scratch with the racket). They also don't mention my one sneaky feat: lighting a book match with one hand. So I phoned one author and asked how come. Turned out that "Sneaky Feats" appears as a syndicated newspaper feature, and they're prohibited from playing with fire. ◉

Answer to Middleton Double-Crostic No. 101

Ronald Rood:
It's Going to Sting Me

Noises in the night . . . can fool you. The sound made by many a bird or animal would scarcely be noticed in the hubbub of day, but at night it is presented against a backdrop of gloom and mystery. Under such circumstances your imagination can conjure up all sorts of things.

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Books in Brief

The Company
by John Ehrlichman
Simon & Schuster, 313 pp., $8.95

WATERGATE culprit John Ehrlichman has written a roman à clef about political chicanery that could almost have been produced by a computer. Except for the cruel brilliance of its depictions of Richard Nixon, the book—though it marches along with precision of plotting and detail—is utterly devoid of the kind of pizzazz and suspense that could really have gotten it off the ground. Ehrlichman has said that this tale of sleazy goings-on in the Washingtons of Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon—as told by the narrator, one William Martin, director of the CIA and a dead ringer for Richard Helms—is meant as no more than a diverting fiction. However, *The Company* is suffused with a breathtaking cynicism that the author would be hard pressed convincingly to disclaim. As portrayed here by his former "loyal" servant, Richard Nixon is far more the totally bullying, paranoid, ruthless vulgarian than all but his bitterest enemies have ever charged, and there is reason to believe that the characterization is a vicious and distorted one. Libel laws being what they are, Ehrlichman is, of course, at liberty to commit character assassination for money, but no one else need grant any decency or integrity to his undertaking. Besides, his technocratic amoralism doesn't even make for an especially good read. —JANE LARKIN CRAIN

Zone of the Interior
by Clancy Sigal
Crowell, 288 pp., $8.95

"BLESSED are the insane and the stoned, for they shall inherit the whole earth." So went one of the strange beatitudes preached during what Clancy Sigal calls the "gigantic spasm" of the late sixties, the temporal setting of *Zone of the Interior*. Having been silent fourteen years since his panoramic *Going Away*, a novel dealing with America's slide to conformity in the fifties, Sigal now focuses his considerable genius on the region of schizophrenia. Only his style remains familiar—a flamboyant, witty, almost plotless mixture of reportage and personal memoir, fact and imagination, consequence and comedy. The end of *Going Away* took him to England. Now, thinly disguised in the persona of Sid Bell, anxiety-ridden, sick, unable to write, Sigal stumbles in London upon Dr. Willie Last (a mirror image of the real psychiatrist R. D. Laing), who is experimenting with LSD and utopian communities for the insane. Last's goals are to lead Bell into schizophrenia (for the way down is the way out), but also to cure all the sane of their bourgeois hypocrisy and neurotic hang-ups, with methods that encompass Zen Buddhism, Buber-Sartre existentialism, Siberian shamanism, Tibetan reincarnation, socialist humanism, and increasingly heavy doses of lysergic acid. By novel's close, Last's score is: two attractive people dead, a few advances in psychiatric treatment, and a novelist able to write the novel we are reading. The lesson Sid Bell learns is one that applies to the whole schizophrenic era—that all revolutionary spasms bespatter their benefits with tragic wastes. But Clancy Sigal is a serious, compassionate, decent, and very funny writer, and one wishes that his hopes may be less dampened by disillusionment, and that the interval between his novels may get shorter. —ROBERT MAURER

In Our Time
by Eric Hoffer
Harper & Row, 128 pp., $6.95

THIS is a book of Jiminy Cricketisms—vague essays on vague topics like "Change and Authority," "Dull Work," "China," and "Rebirth," all couched in a homiletic prose style that makes the book more fit for a needlework sampler than for a library shelf. The simple declarative sentence is here brought to a new low of emptiness. The most quotable passages are those Hoffer draws from others—Keats, Coleridge, de Tocqueville—and one looks in vain for a memorable epigram. For what is one to do with observations like "Flabby societies refuse to see a challenge until it hits them in the face, while vigorous societies welcome a challenge as a spur to creative action"? Or this: "A society's attitude toward nature affects its whole pattern of life"?

Surely America needs re-examination of its virtues and problems by new, great, even homespun philosophers. But Hoffer's calls for hard work and for equipping old people with walkie-talkies to prevent muggings do not suggest a new direction for Emersonian self-reliance. The essays are full of cracker-barrel wisdom; it is not surprising that Lyndon Johnson mistook Hoffer for his personal Robert Frost. One of these days someone might tell Hoffer that the democratic navel he has been contemplating all this time is really the nose on his face; there is nothing here but the same old wine in the same old bottle. Eric Hoffer is Jimmy Carter without the teeth.
—JOHN F. MARIANI

A Welfare Mother
by Susan Sheehan
Introduction by Michael Harrington
Houghton Mifflin, 109 pp., $6.95

FROM more than two years of research and a mountain of notes, Susan Sheehan has distilled a perfect little book. The excellence of *A Welfare Mother* lies in the sureness of vision, discipline, and patience that kept it small; a more self-indulgent writer could have made it twice as long and half as good. Its purity is its impact.

The subjects are Carmen Santana, for nearly a decade a welfare "client," her "husbands," and her nine children. As Michael Harrington points out in the introduction, no one who comes to know Mrs Santana can continue thinking of welfare mothers as clever manipulators—or of welfare workers as harsh oppressors. Mrs Santana likes her perennially hopeful case workers, and they like her. They report that she is "warm" and "friendly," that she keeps house abominably, and that she is quite casual about her children's school attendance and even their safety. "Generous and lazy," affectionate and hot-tempered she spends whatever she has, often on others (and she has more than the Welfare Department knows). When the money runs out, she goes without or lives on ghetto credit; she is free of middle-class "hang ups," like worrying about the future. One of her children is a heroin addict, one a dealer; one daughter is a welfare mother, and another dropped out of school at thirteen to have her first child. Four others are school problems. Mrs Santana loves them all. The only one who has finished high school is the one who never left Puerto Rico.

This is a book of life on its own terms; it makes the pious generalizations of both right and left look even more futile than usual. *A Welfare Mother* is a fine achievement, a book that should be read.
—SARA SANBORN

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Mental and Elemental Nutrients: A Physician's Guide to Nutrition and Health Care
by Carl C. Pfeiffer and the Publications Committee of the Brain Center
Keats Publishing, 519 pp., $9.95

DR. CARL PFEIFFER heads the Brain Bio Center in Princeton, N.J., a nonprofit organization devoted to the diagnosis and treatment of schizophrenia and other mental disorders, and to research in the biochemistry of brain disease. His book synthesizes the belief, held by a small, growing, and vocal counterculture of "orthomolecular" physicians and psychotherapists, that most abnormal behavior, from psychosis to hyperactivity, has no identifiable psychological meaning; that it is instead the result of brain malnutrition; and that the right diet can prevent and/or treat a host of human ailments, from arthritis and senility to alcoholism, headache, and insomnia.

Best known for his biochemical studies of schizophrenics, Pfeiffer here seeks to answer the questions doctors and patients have about the validity of orthomolecular therapies. And yet, though Pfeiffer's book is stuffed with fascinating cases successfully treated by biological psychiatrists, these cases still add up to no more than anecdotal evidence for treatments that cannot be consistently reproduced, predicted, or defined in clincally significant terms.

For all its comprehensiveness, *Mental and Elemental Nutrients* will do little to end the confusion of thoughtful physicians and laymen or to justify the abandonment of conventional therapies. That will require the kind of controlled research that still remains undone.

—JOANN RODGERS

Fraser Young
Literary Crypt No. 62

A cryptogram is writing in cipher. Every letter is part of a code that remains constant throughout the puzzle. *Answer on page 71.*

O IZQ MR O QGYWN JEMQX INH RN. MJ AMWWR JEN FMQB, MJ MR OR INHANPJ OR O RGQQNJ; YNJJNH.

—PEOHWNR WOFY

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Artsletter

THE CORPORATION AS MEDICI

Is it appropriate—even more, is it feasible—to cast the United States corporate community in the role of Lorenzo de Medici? The question is up for debate this summer as top-level corporate executives ponder the implications of a new piece of legislation that forms part of a bill, just passed by both houses of Congress, reauthorizing the Arts and Humanities Endowments for another four years. The new legislation is known as the Challenge Grant Program. It aims at creating a partnership between major national corporations and the federal government in order to provide challenge grants for "cultural institutions of high quality."

A challenge grant is a piece of monetary bait dangled before a potential recipient. In order to get it, the recipient has to "match" the bait with additional funds from other sources. According to the dictionary, you "match" something when you "make or procure the equal of" it. But according to the jargon of grantsmanship, "matching" can mean being obliged to procure as much as two or three times the amount of the bait. So much for definitions; now back to the new legislation and the debate it has set off.

The plan embodied in the legislation is supposed to work out along these lines:

1. Major national corporations will create a fund of "new money" for the arts of up to $25 million per year. This money would come primarily from the "Fortune 500" companies and be in addition to sums they may already be contributing.

2. The federal government will commit a like amount for the same purpose through the National Endowment for the Arts. (In fact, the legislation authorizes $15 million for 1977, $20 million for 1978, and "such sums as are necessary" thereafter.)

3. The combined corporate-federal financial pool is to be used for challenge grants to cultural institutions on a "matching" basis of two or three to one. In other words, Institution X puts up $2 to $3 (which it must raise locally from individuals, foundations, and business) to qualify for $1 from the combined pool.

Cultural institutions will have to meet certain minimal requirements in order to be eligible, and the standards seem a bit like those for a bank loan: the less the money is needed, the easier it will be to get. Needless to say, a bureaucratic apparatus will have to be created in order to collect and dole out the money.

Corporate support is pivotal to the scheme. Indeed, the essential purpose of the legislation is to stimulate increased corporate funding of the arts. At present, that funding is respectable but not overwhelming, and most of it comes from a very few big cultural spenders. If the ten-year partnership (as envisaged in the Challenge Grant legislation) achieves its purpose, it will have broadened the base of corporate giving so that financial responsibility for cultural institutions is more widely shared.

But is it in the nature of the corporate beast to give away money without some compensating rewards? Sometimes the rewards can be as amorphous as a discreet acknowledgment on public television—those corporate Brownie points earned for doing good works. Sometimes the rewards can be more easily pinpointed—as when a corporation contributes to the local orchestra or museum or regional theater and thereby helps make the community a better environment for its employees. But whatever the motivation, a corporation must point to some self-interest if it is to defend contributions of this kind in its reports to stockholders—which may explain why in 1970 only 6 percent of United States corporations made philanthropic gifts of any kind in excess of $500.

The proposed corporate-federal pooling of funds for the arts is clearly quite low on the self-interest scale. Under this scheme, specific grants would not have the name of a specific corporation attached: the moneys would simply go into a big pot and be ladled out by a committee. Thus, if big business goes along with the plan, the impetus for it will be essentially altruistic. The question has been placed on the agenda for a mid-July meeting of the Business Roundtable, an organization that represents about 100 giant United States corporations and is empowered to make policy decisions. Later in the month, Vice-President Rockefeller hopes to bring together a dozen or so top business leaders to air the matter further. We shall report on progress.

Although "Artsletter" applauds any initiative aimed at enlarging and broadening the support of our cultural institutions, we wonder whether the new Challenge Grant scheme may not be a rather roundabout and cumbersome approach. Ideally, it should be public policy in this country to fund the arts at a realistic level. That level, according to the National Committee for Cultural Resources and the Associated Councils of the Arts, ought to be in the area of $225 million a year. Instead, the Arts Endowment appropriation for 1977 will be $84.5 million. The ultimate goal is not to twist the corporate arm for additional cultural largess but, rather, to reorder our national priorities. —ROLAND GELATT

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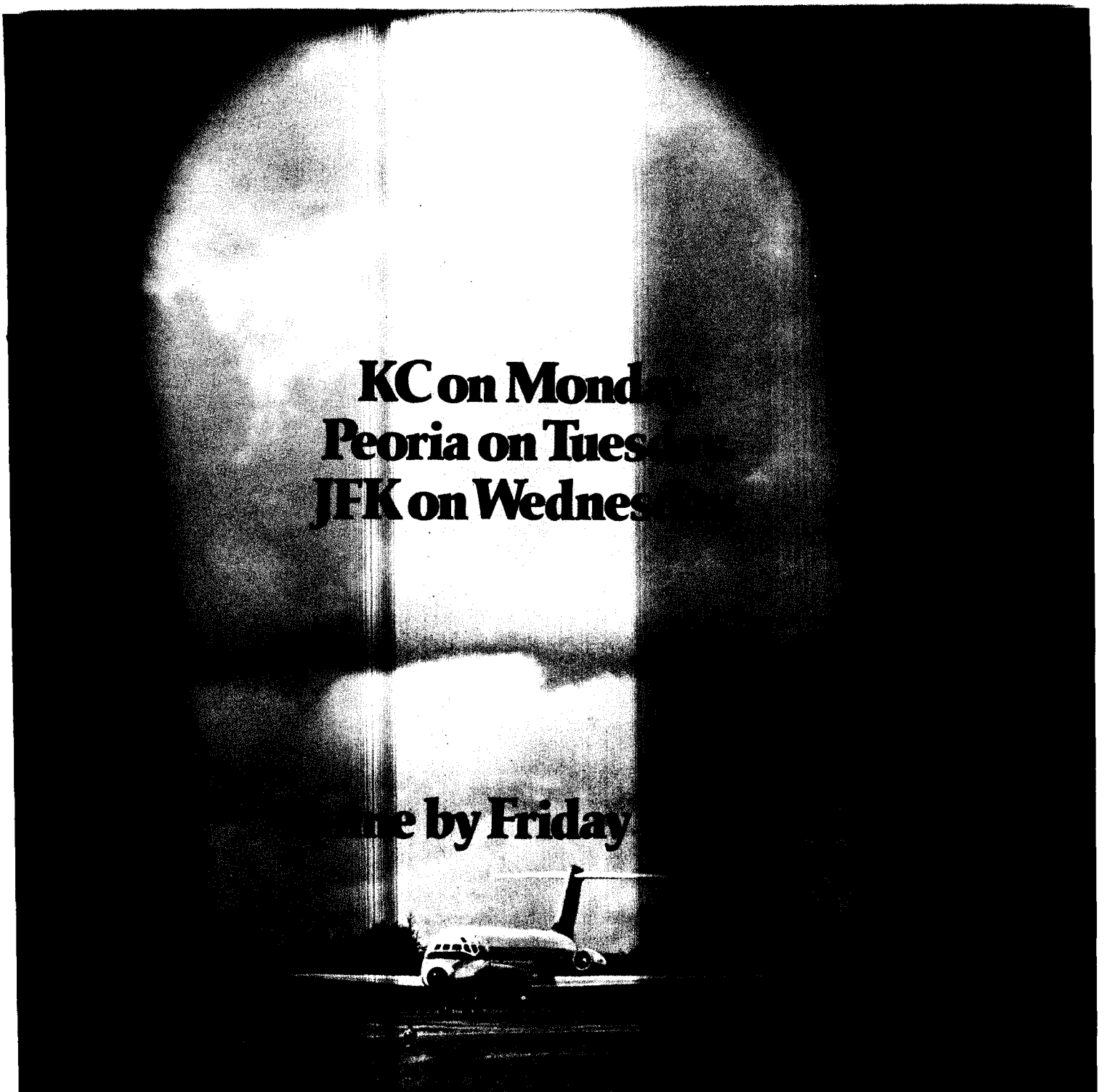

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The DC-9

MCDONNELL DOUGLAS

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Music to My Ears

A Musical Miscellany (Mostly Metropolitan)

by Irving Kolodin

IN THE waning weeks of its least distinguished season in years (how many years would depend on the memory of the evaluator) the Metropolitan Opera Association announced a restructuring of its board and the identity of seventeen new board members. According to an amendment to the bylaws arrived at several months ago (and, of course, not previously communicated to the public), the new categories include "managing directors" (such as David J. Mahoney, chairman and president of Norton Simon, Inc.), "advisory directors" (including executives from half a dozen regional opera companies), and "honorary directors" (among whom Mrs. August Belmont, of long and more than honorary mention, is senior).

Some of these choices are in line with the recommendations of the company's last general manager, Schuyler G. Chapin, that the institution's national base be broadened. All of them, one presumes, are designed to increase efficiency, enhance effectiveness, and promote the financial well-being of the institution. The suggestion is that this will contribute to a better standard of accomplishment than has been evident since Anthony A. Bliss, a onetime Metropolitan board president, became executive director just a year ago. There is no mention, however, of a lessening of the power vested in the executive committee, which is, basically, in command of Metropolitan policy. Nor is there much indication of a more penetrating scrutiny of artistic policy than has existed in the recent past (save for the name of Robert Joffrey, director of the ballet of that name, of which Bliss has been an influential patron for years).

Substantially, then, the Metropolitan is moving forward into its first season under the artistic guidance of James Levine (as music director) and John Dexter (in charge of production), with nothing more professional than a miscellaneous assemblage of managerial, advisory, and honorary directors to evaluate its success. This is, without doubt, the coziest arrangement ever for administering the affairs of the nation's busiest operatic institution, with a longtime board member as the liaison between the board and its specialized employees. Where is the blame to be assessed when a failure in judgment occurs? Who is answerable for such a monstrosity as the mismanagement in the staging of the triumphal scene in last season's new production of Verdi's *Aida*? Or for the distorting scrim that blemished the stage pictures in the equally new production of Bellini's *I Puritani*?

Will we again have Montserrat Caballé capping such an improbable sequence of roles as Bellini's Norma, Strauss's Ariadne, and Verdi's Aida with a performance of Puccini's *La Bohème* in which, as Mimi, she happily *joined* the audience in applauding Luciano Pavarotti's singing of "Che gelida manina"? Decades of operagoing have not prepared me for quite that much disregard for discipline. From what source *is* more professionalism going to come? Certainly not from an executive director who is admittedly nonprofessional—which is to say, a dilettante.

The traditional function of a board in an American cultural enterprise is to raise money to be spent, on approval of a suitable budget, by qualified professionals. For a member of the board to be placed in executive authority is to court two equally repugnant outcomes: the circumscription of professional judgment, or the countenancing of professional incapacity by excessive tolerance or by an indulgence fostered by ignorance.

All the tidy bookkeeping in the world cannot enforce discipline onstage. A board of determined fund-raisers, with good managerial and advisory counsel, could contribute much to an ongoing elevation of standards, *provided* it also included persons with historically high standards of their own. A few that come readily to mind are Risë Stevens, Blanche Thebom, George London, and Regina Resnik. Their kind of evaluation could contribute mightily to making this kind of board successful.

Wide World

A constellation of stars sing "Hallelujah" at Carnegie Hall—"A jubilant gala celebrating its eighty-fifth birthday."

THE metropolitan (as distinguished from Metropolitan) formal musical season came to a climax in two major concert halls almost coincidentally, but on emotional planes light-years apart. Perversely, it was the older of the two, magnificent Carnegie Hall, that reached a season's peak with a jubilant gala celebrating its eighty-fifth birthday amid the raising of one-sixth of a $6-million endowment fund. It was unfavored, misbegotten Philharmonic (now Avery Fisher) Hall, in Lincoln Center, that ended fourteen unhappy years, with Pierre Boulez taking the final bow of his Philharmonic season in a construction worker's hard hat, symbolic of the wreckers about to move in for a complete reconstruction of the auditorium.

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Was the planning of Carnegie Hall in the 1880s keener, more shrewd (to produce the results that have endured so long), than that which preceded the opening of Philharmonic Hall in 1962? The opinions of experts will, of course, differ. But it is undeniable that Carnegie's designer put his faith in traditional materials and values, rather than the harder surfaces, flat planes, and overhead "clouds" that characterized Philharmonic Hall. The dummy heads (for measuring purposes) that characterized the test week of the new hall in June, 1962, checked out on the graphs and charts that recorded the gunfire and cannon shots that were discharged; the human heads with real ears (at the first concert, three months later) were not so easily pleased.

The Carnegie Hall gala that brought about a constellation of stars as only such a purpose could enlist produced expectable results from the participation of Leonard Bernstein, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, Vladimir Horowitz, Yehudi Menuhin, Mstislav Rostropovich, and Isaac Stern, as well as some that could hardly be imagined. The combination of Fischer-Dieskau and Horowitz in Schumann's *Dichterliebe* settled, eventually, nto a level of performance that climbed steadily higher and higher until it vanished into the empyrean on the wings of he final pianistic postlude.

That was, to a degree, expectable. But who could imagine, in the inability of Martina Arroyo to appear with her colleagues, that Horowitz would consent to oin Rostropovich in the slow movement of Rachmaninoff's cello sonata (1901)? The new master of the strings has been playing the piece all his life; the old master of the piano (who was, as Stern wittily said, "playing at night for the first time in twenty-five years") had never played it publicly before. But, after a few hours' thought, he, also, formed its phrases as though they had been under his hands for a lifetime. Taken together with the first movement of the A minor Tchaikovsky trio he performed with Stern and Rostropovich, it was a demonstration of chamber musicianship by the great soloist which made the evening a Horowitz, as well as Carnegie Hall, gala.

Sir Georg Solti showed himself at his best and at his worst within little more than an hour's time during the season-ending visit of the Chicago Symphony to Carnegie Hall. The best was contained in his collaboration with Alicia de Larrocha in the last (and possibly best) of Mozart's piano concertos, No. 27 in B flat (K. 595). It rippled and it sang, it matched finesse to finesse in an exhibition of musical insight. The climax came in an interchange in which Miss de Larrocha simulated a flute playing a phrase in sixteenth notes, and flutist Donald Peck repeated the same notes in a simulation of the piano simulating a flute.

But Solti fell far from these heavenly heights before the evening was over. Following a coarse, overblown, and nearly vulgar performance of Debussy's *La Mer*, which was all wind and little wave, Solti responded to the noisy acclaim of the audience with an encore. This was, to begin with, inappropriate: one does not follow Debussy's *La Mer* with anything, except silence. Furthermore, his choice of Ravel's *Bolero* was in the worst possible taste. To deliberately "top" one with the other suggests a conductor who has lost touch with aesthetic reality and is fantasizing a dreamworld in which his whim reigns supreme.

Fortunately, there was still a concert version of Wagner's *Der Fliegende Holländer* to come later in the week. After two days in orbit, Solti had returned safely to earth, and he performed his function in a way few conductors of the day can match. The great orchestra pounded and blew the wind, waves, and salt spray of another sea as Wagner imagined them, with a cast that flaunted the excellence of the Chicago Symphony Chorus trained by Margaret Hillis; the matchless voice, body, and artistic mind of Marti Talvela as Daland; and Werner Krenn as a lithe-voiced Steersman. On lesser levels of success, Norman Bailey was a rather lightweight Dutchman, Janis Martin a moody but vocally inconsistent Senta, and René Kollo a variable Erik. Withal, it was a great night for Wagner, and for music. ◉

Wit Twister No. 75
Edited by Arthur Swan

The object of the game is to complete the poem by thinking of one word whose letters, when rearranged, will yield the appropriate word for each series of blanks. Each dash within a blank corresponds to a letter of the word. Answers on page 70.

Fed up with chapel — — — — — —, choirs, and psalms,
The novice — — — — — — — —
and longs for far-off lands
Where, sanctified by surf and swaying palms,
In scant — — — — — — — she'd
stroll on silver sands. A. S.

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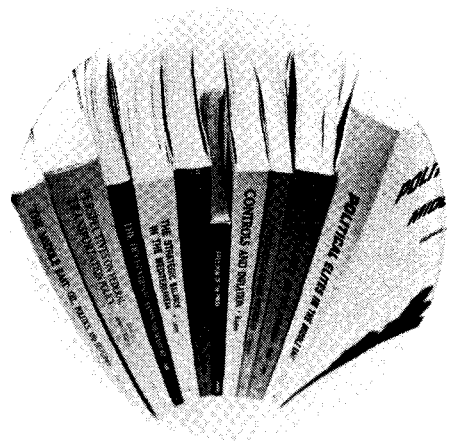

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The Movies

A Bicentennial Buffalo Bill

by Judith Crist

TO EACH his Bicentennial offering and celebration. For movies, small doubt that the appropriate offering is Robert Altman's *Buffalo Bill and the Indians*—a celebration of the show business, the stardom, the ethic, and the verities that have been embodied in American history and epitomized by Hollywood.

It is fitting also that Altman, whose *Nashville* last year gave us a clear and devastating perception of the contemporary state of the nation, should cast his creative eye on history with the clarity, humor, and affectionate cynicism that have been the hallmarks of his work. From his concept of the Strangelovian world of medical healers working amid the bloodletting and slaughter of war in *M*A*S*H* and the bird-world of 1970 in *Brewster McCloud*, his myth-shattering view of the frontier in *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* and of the private eye in *The Long Goodbye*, Altman turns to the creation of historic mythology, to the making of the legend, the emergence of hero and of star, the contradictions of contemporaries, the remnants of the past. And truth, he concludes, is whatever gets the most applause.

The Altman vision is a personal one, the story and screenplay developed in collaboration with Alan Rudolph; hardly a trace remains of the Arthur Kopit play *Indians*, which "suggested" it. Part fact, part fiction–what *does* get the most applause?—it offers us a huge encampment, "just east of the Rockies," where William F. Cody is ensconced as "the Lion of the Show Business before the show business was invented." In the tent community housing Buffalo Bill, his entourage, and his between-tours Wild West show, celebrities, hangers-on, performers, and the public come and go. The producer, Nate Salsbury, whips the show into shape; the publicist, Major Burke, gabs grandiloquently for the benefit of the press; and Buffalo Bill preserves his stardom between beakers of booze and bouts with his favorite female singer of the moment. In the saloon the legend-maker, Ned Buntline, tells all comers of his discovery and creation of the star (an old soldier has another version to tell awestruck kiddies outside); in the arena Annie Oakley practices her sharpshooting with minuscule targets held by her quivering husband, Frank The-World's-Most-Handsome-Living-Target Butler.

And then there is a burble of excitement through the camp, the arrival of a new act. The Major has the publicity line: "Foes in '75–Friends in '86." Salsbury, who has been wondering whether "by enlarging our show we had possibly disimproved it," at Cody's request tries to get Buntline out of the way: "Nothing personal. We've just signed the most futurable act in our history and I don't want anything or anybody interfering with it." Nostalgia, he notes, "ain't what it used to be." The "futurable act" is Sitting Bull, brought to the Wild West show by the army—"to make a broad-assed fool out of him," Buntline notes, because "a rock ain't a rock once it's gravel." But Sitting Bull proves himself a rock, silent amid the "titanically momentous welcome" Salsbury offers, and amid assurances from Buffalo Bill that "after one season you will never be mistaken for a below-average, run-of-the-mill, forgettable Indian chief." Through an interpreter, Sitting Bull sets forth his demands; on his own he establishes himself, comes and goes as he chooses, defines his own performance. He has come to meet the Great White Father –and to everyone's surprise but his, the President of the United States does arrive, taking in the Wild West show as part of his honeymoon trip. But the difference between a President and a chief, Cody notes, "is that the President knows enough to retaliate before it's his turn."

Paul Newman as Buffalo Bill—"Cold-eyed but haunted . . . the ultimate star."

Paul Newman's Buffalo Bill, a cold-eyed but haunted man who skirts buffoonery by keeping a tight rein on his mirror- and poster-image, is the ultimate star, nightmare-ridden but quick to turn each accident or twist of events to his own advantage, discarding each moment as it becomes the forgettable past, completely convinced of the burden of posterity. He is indeed a servant of his public, hoping his hair will grow as long as Custer's but wearing a wig in the meantime, immutable, determinedly a living statue, with hallucinated conviction that white endures, that the red skin is the red man's burden. "A hundred years from now, I'll still be Buffalo Bill—Star," he tells Sitting Bull's ghost, "and you'll just be the Indian. . . . I give 'em what they expect."

The producer—a tiny dynamo in Joel Grey's impersonation—malaprops his way through grandiose phrases to keep his star happy and his show together; Kevin McCarthy's Major, his speech as flowing as his hair, "wearily, wearily" serves the press; Cody's nephew, Harvey Keitel's innocent sycophant, rides herd on his uncle's interests, frankly noting that "there is no business like the show business."

The brave cowboys and fierce Indians and bucking broncs ride and fight and parade to the wonderfully brassy sassy melodies "for every momentous moment" created by Richard Baskin for Buffalo Bill's Cowboy Band, and in the show-biz atmosphere the bitter truths of fakery emerge. The film is aptly subtitled "Sitting Bull's History Lesson"—a lesson found in the confrontation between the fact and the fraud on the huge canvas. It is enriched by Geraldine Chaplin's Annie Oakley, softened by her empathy for Sitting Bull; John Considine's foolish stage-husbandry as Butler; Bonnie Leaders's ample mezzo-contralto, displaced by Noelle Rogers's cool lyric-coloratura, rivaled by Evelyn Lear's independent lyric-soprano; Pat McCormick's Grover Cleveland with Shelley Duvall his ingenue bride and E. L. Doctorow his provider of aphorisms. And fi-

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nally there is Burt Lancaster's Ned Buntline, saturated and at last surfeited with his own creation, facing its actuality and its durability, the realization thereof "damn near a religious awakening."

With moments of brilliant inspiration, and of pedestrian point-making, there is a surface simplicity in Altman's view—one that seems anticlimactic, as any post-*Nashville* work would seem. But it is the restatement of the obvious that counts here, an awareness of our false historic values, a recognition of the revisionism that marks one's maturity and growth. The final confidence in Buffalo Bill's eye is the warning: the great men die, the created legends endure, and history, according to Sitting Bull, is "nothing more than disrespect for the dead"—something worth remembering at Bicentennial moments.

For the forward look, one of the most interesting science-fiction films of recent years has been derived from Walter Tevis's 1963 novel, *The Man Who Fell to Earth.* The focal point of that interest, to fascinate even non-sci-fi enthusiasts, is the casting of rock star David Bowie in the title role. His impersonation of the extraplanetary visitor goes beyond the physical to a magnetism of personality and persona that is remarkable.

Tevis, a professor of English literature at Ohio University and author as well of *The Hustler*, wrote an engrossing story of a latter-day Icarus, an "Anthean" dispatched to this planet on a complex rescue mission, an alien who becomes a captive not only of a suspicious and self-destructively competitive society but also of his own humanization. From it Paul Mayersberg has constructed an elliptic screenplay and Nicolas Roeg has fashioned a stylized, eye-filling, and occasionally mind-boggling film—if not a fully satisfying one. But it is put in focus by Bowie, who creates an other-worldly visitor and not only gives him credibility but makes him an overwhelming object of compassion. Tall, slender, with bright-auburn hair, his mouth a scarlet slash and his eyes black-ringed reflections of mystery in the pale Greek-god face, Bowie blends the supernatural and the superhuman as the vulnerable outsider. And oddly—dare one read significance into the TWA signs, the details of the World Enterprises conglomerate the visitor creates, the functioning of a reclusive man who is a genius of invention and financial manipulation—there's a touch of the Howard Hughes story to it all.

A splash in a lake, a lone figure outlined on the horizon, stumbling down a slag heap, making his way into a small Western town, selling gold rings to a jeweler—he is, he claims, Thomas Jerome Newton, from England, complete with passport. Then the gaunt stranger walks into the apartment of a top patent lawyer, offering him $10,000 for ten hours of his time. The papers he is consulting him on, in 1985, involve nine basic patents that will, the lawyer suspects, enable him to "take" RCA, Eastman Kodak, even DuPont, for starters, and will give him hundreds of millions. He needs more, the visitor explains; he will leave business details to the lawyer, work through him, demanding privacy for himself.

Newton goes off by himself, but the gravity pull of a hotel elevator shatters his health. He is nursed by the elevator operator, a simple semiliterate girl who becomes his companion. Through flashbacks we learn that Newton left a wife and children on his planet, that there was a drought, that perhaps his mission is to bring water back to his home. His corporate enterprises flourish, and he begins to devote himself to an interplanetary-flight project involving a chemistry professor who begins to suspect Newton's origins. And as bits of his mystery are shed, so a counterconspiracy begins to develop; his inventions are upsetting other international conglomerates, and drastic measures are decided upon.

Roeg, a cinematographer-turned-director who dealt with mystery with flashes of inspiration and heavy-handed explicitness in *Don't Look Now*, is governed by mood rather than matter, and the coherence of his story suffers as he devotes himself to wonderfully earthy encounters between Newton and his warmhearted shoddy little mistress and to unnervingly beautiful flashes of Newton's previous life. But Bowie tempts one to yield on the pragmatics of plot and to accept the film as the story of a mysterious outsider who is doomed by a venal and suspicious society, betrayed by all with whom he permits himself to be human. And, as such, Bowie makes the film work, simply through his own performance. He gets excellent support from Candy Clark as the mistress and Buck Henry as the patent attorney. Rip Torn, after a tasteless and irrelevant introductory sequence of lechery, proves interesting as a chemist who moves from campus to corporation to find cynical success. But the film is Bowie's—and, we hope, it will only be his first cinematic achievement. ◉

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Booked for Travel

Pitt's Burgh

by Horace Sutton

COMMERCE created Pittsburgh; industry and enterprise built it into a sprawling caldron that gave forth steel, glass, aluminum, coal, and smoke. In the process the city almost smoked itself into the next world. The pollution was so pervasive and so dense, automobiles turned on their lights at high noon and men wore blue shirts that wouldn't show the soil as quickly as white, but changed shirts twice a day anyway. Smoke-bound Pittsburgh became a foil for wits, along with Peoria and Podunk.

Long before environmentalists had become a special breed, self-invested with a public charge, Colonel Richard K. Mellon, then on war duty in Washington, summoned a select group of Pittsburghers to the capital to develop a plan for urban redevelopment. The slums of downtown Pittsburgh would go. Smoke- and flood-control measures would be developed and enforced. The Point, where the Monongahela and the Allegheny come together to form the Ohio, would become a green park, with the business heartland rising behind it. The bonanza and the blight that business had created, it would now remake. Pittsburgh would become the renaissance city of America.

The state gave its blessing for the Point Park in 1951, and the bulldozers cleared the land of every standing edifice except the Fort Pitt Blockhouse, which the British built some 200 years before. Behind the greensward of Point Park rise the towers of commerce and the embellishments of arts, sciences, and education, many of them marked with the celebrated names of American industry—Equitable (Plaza), Frick (Building), Mellon (Square), U.S. Steel (skyscraper), Carnegie-Mellon (University), Heinz (Hall), Carnegie (Museum and Library).

The confluence of the rivers, a geographical circumstance that is the reason for Pittsburgh's existence, is commemorated by Three Rivers Stadium (Steelers and Pirates), which sits in some splendor on the shore of the Allegheny, looking at Point State Park and the beginning of the Ohio. The shoreside park remembers Pittsburgh's adopted Puerto Rican, the late Roberto Clemente, for whom the green riverbank is named.

The renaissance also brought Pittsburgh a new realization of its history, for as a Western outpost it was deeply involved in the French and Indian War and in the Revolution, which followed it. The clearing of the Point, as well as the preservation of Fort Pitt, brought with it the excavations in 1965 of the ramparts around it. Fort Pitt Museum, a state project that also emerged from the restoration plan, depicts, with artful dioramas, maquettes, and life-size scenes of frontier life, the struggles between two major European nations of the time for the Colonial prize, the involvement of the aboriginals, and the ultimate evolution of an independent nation. The war was fought from London and Paris, the two nations battling for the lands in the New World that lay beyond the mountains.

The Ohio River was the vital link between French possessions in Canada and those in Louisiana. Neither was self-supporting in foodstuffs, and it fell to Illinois to serve as the granary of the New France. Fort Duquesne, the original stronghold at the meeting of the rivers—a plaque marks its exact location in Point State Park—mauled the British each time they tried to cut the lifeline of New France.

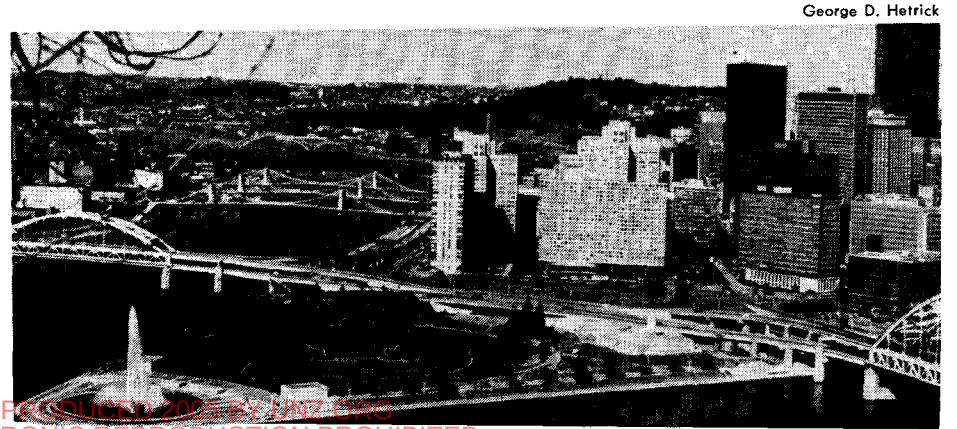
As a young officer of twenty-one, and in the service of the British, George Washington was dispatched from Williamsburg by the governor of the Virginia colony to deliver a letter to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio urging him to evacuate the valley, then claimed by the British crown. He reached Fort Le Boeuf (now Waterford, Pa.) late in 1753 and was rebuffed. In May of 1754, and by then a lieutenant colonel in the Virginia Militia, Washington was once more in the area, this time to reinforce a British fortification near the Point. Near what is now Uniontown, Pa., he attacked a surprised French force from Fort Duquesne. Washington's party killed ten French soldiers, including Coulon de Jumonville, an eminent patrician. Washington was branded an assassin by the French, but the British claimed that he had acted to avert an incipient ambush.

Anticipating a quick counterattack, Washington built a hasty stockade, called Fort Necessity. Commanding his force of 360 Colonials, he held out for two days against 900 French and Indians. The militia capitulated on July 4, which would ultimately become a day doubly remembered by Washington. Despite their outrage, the French didn't hold Washington, and he retreated with his troops, on foot. Exactly twenty years later, Washington would take command of the American forces, with the British as adversary and the French soon to be an ally.

By now the French were entrenched at Fort Duquesne, holding the key to their supply lines and commanding the avenue of westward expansion. General Edward Braddock and a force of 1,469 men marched on Duquesne, which was being held by 200 French troops supported by 400 Indians. The defenders came out to meet Braddock's force, and six miles from the fort (now Braddock, Pa.), the sides were engaged. It was an utter rout for the British. Sixty-three of their officers were killed or wounded; only 460 British soldiers escaped death, injury, or capture, among them George Washington, who was serving as Braddock's aide-de-camp, and General Thomas Gage, later to be

The Point—"The blight that business had created, it would now remake."

George D. Hetrick



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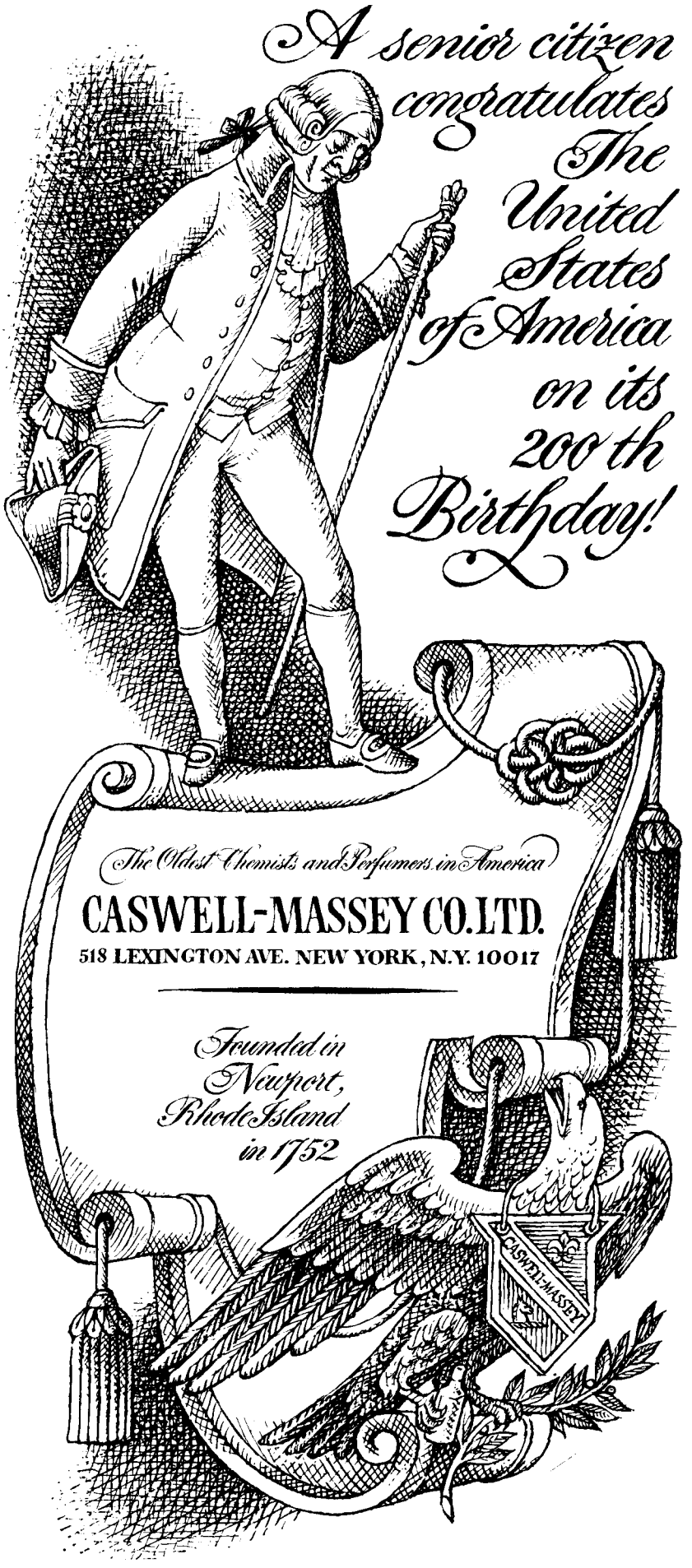
heard from at Bunker Hill. In the panicked retreat, the wounded and the baggage were left to the Indians. Mortally wounded, Braddock was carried from the field. His last words before he died, two days later: "Who would have thought it?"

Braddock's defeat was sensational news in Europe, but on the frontier it inspired Indian marauders, who raided and pillaged for three years. In the long run, the French supply lines were stretched too thin. When at last General John Forbes assembled a force that, incidentally, included Colonel Washington and a Virginia regiment, and marched on Fort Duquesne, the French had vanished. The defenders had burned the fort to the ground.

Near the site, the British commenced the construction of Fort Pitt, which was to be the largest North American outpost yet built. The forfeiture of Fort Duquesne in 1758, and the British victory at Quebec the next year, proved the end of the French adventure in the New World. At the same time, the British position was solidified, and the commander of Fort Pitt, Colonel Henry Bouquet, who had been second in command to Forbes, now turned to the subjugation of the Indians. Operating from Fort Pitt, which had been named for Sir William Pitt, Prime Minister of Great Britain, Bouquet demanded that the Indians surrender all white prisoners. It was a severe wrench for many whites, who preferred their life with the Indians.

By 1772 the British were feeling pressure from other Colonial points, and they abandoned the fort. Twenty years later, as President, Washington had new fortifications built at the Point, which, in the last military turn of history in these purlieus, was to become a base for forays against the British in 1812.

But in the initial struggle for the New World, it was Pitt, calling the plays from London, who ordered the decisive moves that vanquished the French. If there is a history lesson in the city that bears Pitt's name, it is entwined with the lot of the Indians, the native owners of the land, who sometimes assumed the role of ally, sometimes of enemy. At one phase or another, the French, the Indians, and the British were all victors, but in the end all three were losers. If there are winners, they are the restless Americans who made the metropolis of Pitt's city; they and their descendants and those immigrants who came after them and built the towers of glass and steel and cement and aluminum that are a massive backdrop, a frieze of force and ingenuity, where the rivers come together. ◉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World Progress Report

Reprieve for American Elms

The announcement by the DuPont Company of a new fungicide called Lignasan may presage the end to almost half a century of slow, steady death for *Ulmus americana*, the magnificent American elm tree. Before Dutch elm disease—a fatal fungus first described in the Netherlands—made its debut in the New World in about 1930, the native elm was the arboreal motif for thousands of American communities. With its characteristic and inimitable tall trunk and graceful crown, the elm was planted in majestic colonnades along country roads and city streets from coast to coast.

Ironically, its very popularity has made the species especially vulnerable to Dutch elm disease. Along closely planted elm rows, the spores of the fungus are easily transmitted through root systems or carried by bark beetles, which are the major vector of the fungus. Multiplying inside the tree, the fungus chokes off the circulation of water to the crown, killing the tree.

Until DuPont's recent development of Lignasan, the preferred method for slowing the spread of Dutch elm disease depended on DDT to kill the bark beetles. Since the ban on DDT, however, the best hope has been "sanitation"—prompt pruning of infected branches and destruction of diseased trees. The result has been growing gaps in once-perfect elm rows from New England to California as the native elm disappears from the American arboretum.

Lignasan is injected through small holes bored in the tree trunk just above ground level. In solution, the chemical can also be absorbed through the roots. Once inside the tree, Lignasan attacks the fungus as nothing ever has before.

The Elm Research Institute, in Harrisville, N.H., has been coordinating the testing of Lignasan on 7,470 trees in thirty-three states. In the first tests, 785 healthy elms were dosed with the chemical; a control group of an equal number of healthy trees was left untreated. Only one of the protected trees became infected; 303 trees in the control group contracted Dutch elm disease, and, of those, 117 died. When Lignasan was injected into 250 already infected trees, only 29 died, whereas 177 died in an untreated control group of 250 infected trees.

According to a U.S. Department of Agriculture plant pathologist, Dutch elm disease can probably be arrested with Lignasan if the chemical is used before 10 percent of an infected tree's leaves are affected. "I would say that the future of the American elm has never looked greener," Elm Research Institute director John Hansel recently told *The Wall Street Journal*. The only obstacle delaying that future is the tortuous clearance process of the Environmental Protection Agency. The new chemical is expected to pass the EPA's tests for effectiveness and environmental safety, but the final stamp of approval for commercial release of Lignasan probably won't come in time to save this summer's afflicted elms.

Special Delivery

For expectant families discouraged by the high cost and impersonal ordeal of having a baby in a hospital, but who lack faith in the current do-it-yourself fashion of childbirth at home, the Maternity Center Association is trying out a middle-of-the-road alternative in New York City. At the association's facility, recently established in a homey New York town house, a woman can give birth with her family around her, if she chooses, and she can go home with her new baby as soon as twelve hours after delivery.

Although the new center is intended only for women with normal, uncomplicated pregnancies, obstetricians and nurse-midwives perform all deliveries, and the state-licensed center is equipped to handle medical emergencies. The complete program includes prenatal care, classes in childbirth and infant care, the actual labor and delivery, and postpartum checkups. The cost to the family is about $550, whereas the bill for comparable services from regular New York doctors and hospitals can easily total well over twice as much. The Maternity Center Association, a voluntary, nonprofit health agency, supplements its income from fees with public contributions.

Disappearing Act

The modern-day folk artists who delight in decorating public places with spray paints, felt-tip pens, and other devilishly indelible media may soon find their immortality abbreviated by a new British potion. Aptly christened Graffitisolv, the product is a potent solvent that can be sprayed on as easily as the offending paints and inks. After a three-minute soak, say the product's developers, a shower from a high-pressure water hose suffices to dissolve the graffiti, restoring the wall or other defaced surface to pristine purity.

Its proprietors claim that Graffitisolv is effective against the whole catalog of colorings beloved of the graffitists and found on all their favorite surfaces, including subway cars, rest-room stalls, telephone booths, and the walls of academe. The manufacturer, Mayvil Chemicals, Ltd. (Rookery Bridge, Sandbach, Cheshire, England CW119QZ), is currently looking for a distributor in the United States, where an effective graffiti eradicator is urgently needed. —ANTHONY WOLFF

Reprinted from SR, September 2, 1950

THROUGH HISTORY WITH J. WESLEY SMITH

"How much to start a rumor about the shortage of snuffboxes?"

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Light Refractions

I'm Here in the Orchard, Juliet

by Thomas H. Middleton

For many years Harry Von Zell has been doing commercials for Home Savings and Loan Association, and for at least the last five or six years my peace of mind has been rattled every time I've heard him say, "Home pays interest on your savings from day in to day out." That's not the way the expression goes, dammit! It's "day in, day out," as in the song by Johnny Mercer. "Day in, day out" makes some sense. "Day in," it seems obvious, is the same as "during the day." "Day out," equally obviously, is "during the night." So, "day in, day out" means "night and day," as in the song by Cole Porter. "From day in to day out," as Harry Von Zell puts it, signifies, to me at least, that interval between day and night. "Home pays interest from day in to day out" implies that Home Savings and Loan pays interest at twilight, as in the song by Fats Waller. I find it surprising that Von Zell has been misstating the cliché for so many years and that apparently no one has straightened him out—no savings-and-loan officers, no ad-agency representatives, not even his best friends.

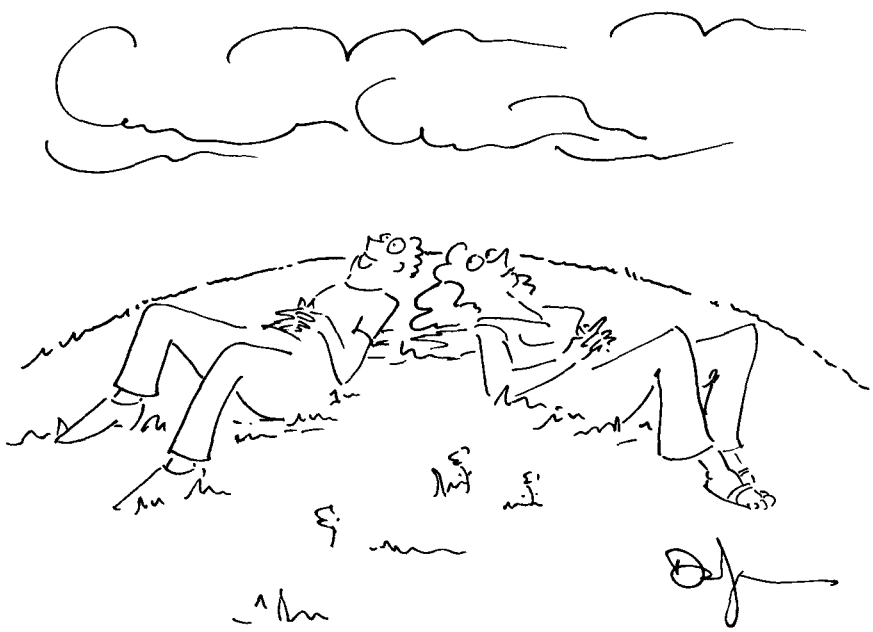
I suppose we've all botched up a few quotations and clichés. I'm one of what must be millions of people who've learned that music hath charms to soothe the savage beast. For years I heard or said, "Music hath charms to soothe the savage beast," at opportune moments. Then I heard that it should be, "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast," and I thought it didn't really matter a great deal, but in the pursuit of accuracy, I looked it up. I went to a dictionary of quotations—either *Bartlett's* or the *Oxford*, I can't remember which—and found that the line, as originally written, goes, "Music has charms to soothe a savage breast." No "hath," no "the," no "beast." It's from William Congreve's *The Mourning Bride*. It is from Act I, scene 1, line 1. I'd never read *The Mourning Bride*, and, because "Music has charms to soothe a savage breast" struck me as a bizarre, abrupt opening line for a play, I reached for my volume of five plays by Congreve. *The Mourning Bride* opens with the princess Almeria and her maidservant, Leonora, in mourning, listening to soft music. When the music stops, Almeria says, "Music has charms to soothe a savage breast,/To soften rocks, or bend a knotted oak." Having gone that far, I read the whole bloody play—bloody not in the pejorative British sense of the word, but in the good old blood-and-gore American sense. I liked it. Serendipity strikes again.

Another misquote is "Pride goeth before a fall." I remember that, when I was a small boy and first heard "Pride goeth before a fall," I found the statement confusing. I felt that "Pride goeth *after* a fall" would be more accurate. The fall, presumably, would drive out pride and replace it with a large scoop of humility. The line is actually, "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." It's from Proverbs. I still think "*after* a fall" is better.

If you ask a random selection of people what comes after "Alas! poor Yorick," it's a fairly safe bet that most of them will answer, "I knew him well," instead of "I knew him, Horatio." But there's a Shakespearean line that is even more frequently misconstrued. I'll bet that about nine people out of ten will say that what comes after "O Romeo, Romeo!" is "Wherefore art thou, Romeo?" It isn't, of course. It's "Wherefore art thou Romeo?"—without the comma. Even people who know perfectly well that "wherefore" doesn't mean "where" get suckered into reading Juliet's question as though it *did* mean "where," even though, in the context of Juliet's speech, "Where art thou, Romeo?" is nonsensical. She's asking why, instead of being Mercutio or Tybalt or Tony Orlando, he has to be Romeo, of the hated Montague clan.

To get back to Harry Von Zell and "from day in to day out"—the *cliché manqué* that got me started on this topic—I suppose it could be argued that "from day in to day out" means "from dawn to dusk," but, personally, I think he means "day in, day out," possibly even "year in, year out," both of which are time-honored phrases meaning "continuously." I think he or, more likely, some advertising-copy writer just "got the words wrong."

Obviously, that's a very common failing, what with all those *savage beasts, I knew him wells, and wherefore art thou comma Romeos*, and perhaps Von Zell's minor gaffe shouldn't bother me, but it does, because for years he's been getting the words wrong, and no one has said, "Hey, that's not the way it goes!" ◉



"Doesn't that one remind you of two Greek warriors arm wrestling on top of a banana split all on the back of a one-legged alligator with his tail cut off?"

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SCHOONER TIMBERWIND SAILS MAINE coast. Week includes island hopping, new friends, wonderful food, exciting sailing. $225.00—no extras. Brochure: (207) 763-3137. Schooner Timberwind, Box 247 F, Rockport, Maine 04856.

WANTALFEGO LODGE and CABINS—Maine family vacation on Webb Pond in scenic Penobscot-Acadia region. Good fishing, library, home cooked meals, informal atmosphere. RD 1, Franklin, Maine 04634.

DO YOU ENJOY REMOTENESS? Beautiful beaches, horses, bikes, snorkeling, fishing, pool. Very casual. La Casa del Frances, Vieques Island, Puerto Rico 00765. (809) 741-3751.

THE IMPROBABLE INN, Boothbay Harbor, Maine 04538. 27th droll season. Artists and vacationers. Adults. American plan weekly. Brochure!

THE SEASIDE—Favored smaller resort. Private beach. Near Sarasota. Longboat Key, Fla. 33577.

WHITNEYS' . . . Charming Inn off beaten path. Rooms, Cottages, Motel. All seasonal sports. Famous food. AAA. Summer season 1976, June 26th-October 17th. R. G. Sullo, Jackson, N.H. 03846.

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THE UNBELIEVABLE INN—Spectacular mountaintop views, 25 lovely rooms, beamed ceilings, fireplaces, library, great food, intimate lounge. Golf course, pool; lakes nearby, guided tours to White Mountains. Toll free 1-800-447-4470. Jerry S. Walker, The INN at Steele Hill, Laconia, N.H. 03246.

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SUNNY GRENADINES: surprisingly reasonable weekly rates: spectacular furnished freeform oceanside multi-level villa spanning dramatic cove! Russell, Santorini Cove, Bequia, St. Vincent, W. Indies.

Answer to *Wit Twister* (see page 61): organs, groans, sarong.

TRAVEL

WORLD'S LARGEST MARBLE EXHIBIT, Proctor, Vermont. Rt. 3. OPEN: May 28 - Oct. 24. 9AM-6PM daily. Watch a carver at work. Try your skill. Dramatic President display, carvings, exhibits, world-wide marble varieties. Movies of marble's history processing, uses. Factory prices: Marble gifts, choice table tops. Admission Charged. FOLDER.

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WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE, $2.50, rates, schedules, 700 passenger-carrying freighters. TravLTips, 40-21ZO, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

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COMPLETELY FURNISHED winter cottage Williamstown area near Jiminy Peak. $225 monthly for 4 to 8 months. Fireplace. Box 504, Williamstown, Mass. 01267.

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MAINE—140 secluded wood acreage—with 600' Lake Frontage—car road—$30,000.00. Franklin Realty Company, Brokers, Farmington, Maine 04938. Tel: (207) 778-2852.

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SECLUDED FLORIDA PANHANDLE ISLAND —Gulf Front Lot 100' x 240'. Served by Ferry, Airstrip, Boat Docks. Affordable. Wayne Betts (904) 627-6777, after 6:00 p.m.

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EMPLOYMENT!!! U.S.!! Foreign! Skilled, Unskilled, Equal Opportunity. All Fields. Directory, Application, Resume Instructions $3.00. National Information, Department 201, 422 Washington Building, Washington, D.C. 20005.

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COMMUNITY CULTURAL CENTER DIRECTOR—At least 5 years full responsibility management, programming, supervision in performing and visual arts center. Relevant degree desired. May substitute exceptional experience in part for education. Facilities include 750-seat concert hall/theatre, outdoor theatre, exhibit galleries, meeting rooms. Dynamic innovative approach, ability to work effectively with community. Salary range $13-$16,000. Resume by August 15, 1976 to Cultural Commission, P.O. Box 5066, Carmel, Calif. 93921.

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Answer to Fraser Young *Literary Crypt* No. 62 (see page 57): A pun is a noble thing per se. It fills the mind, it is as perfect as a sonnet; better.
—Charles Lamb

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

TEACHERS—ADMINISTRATORS. Current school, college openings list in U.S. $5.95; abroad $5.95. Leading placement sources U.S. $3.95; foreign $4.95. EIS, Box 662, Newton, Mass. 02162.

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Double-Crostic

by Thomas H. Middleton

1 H	2 B	3 V		4 D	5 M	6 I	7 P	8 E	9 N	10 L	11 X	12 A		13 N	14 H	15 R	16 P
17 J	18 T	19 X	20 K	21 V		22 Q	23 S	24 E	25 R	26 Y	27 T		28 Z	29 I	30 H		31 X
32 F	33 A	34 P	35 D	36 B	37 V		38 Y	39 K	40 N	41 T	42 M	43 L	44 X	45 R	46 G		47 W
	48 R	49 B	50 H	51 I	52 Y	53 T	–	54 A	55 F		56 W	57 K	58 A	59 O	60 J	61 M	
62 B	63 G	64 Y		65 M	66 S	67 H		68 O	69 Z	70 J	71 A		72 P	73 Q	74 V	75 M	76 L
77 Y	78 I		79 P	80 D	81 A		82 B	83 M	84 Q	85 V	86 O	87 K	88 J		89 V	90 N	
91 B	92 R	93 U		94 L	95 X		96 C	97 L	98 G	99 N	100 A	101 X		102 U	103 N	104 D	105 R
106 E	107 S		108 B	109 M	110 V		111 V		112 Y	113 E	114 M	115 T		116 Q	117 U	118 Y	119 S
	120 F	121 J	122 O	123 Q	124 A	125 X	126 Z		127 L	128 T	129 K	130 E		131 F	132 Q	133 Y	134 B
135 X		136 N	137 M	138 Y		139 H	140 W	141 X	142 Z	143 A	144 Q	145 M	146 N		147 P		148 T
149 I	150 N	151 S	152 R		153 G	154 X		155 D	156 M	157 O	158 F	159 K	160 N	–	161 C	162 B	163 U
	164 S	165 A	166 N	167 M	168 L	169 X	170 O		171 G	172 E	173 V		174 W	175 S	176 U	177 K	178 M
179 N	180 Q	181 B	182 X	183 C	184 T		185 D	186 V	187 H	188 G	189 V	190 K		191 N	192 P	193 R	
194 S	195 C	196 J	197 R		198 L	199 I	200 E	201 W	202 S	203 G	204 Z		205 T	206 Z		207 H	208 Y
209 Q	210 N	211 R	212 O		213 W	214 X	215 C	216 P	217 V	218 R		219 Q	220 M	221 L	222 Y	223 I	

Number 102

Instructions

If you've never solved one of these puzzles, it will probably look much more difficult than it actually is. If you can answer only a very few of the WORDS correctly, you're on your way to solving the puzzle.

Fill in the numbered blanks of all the WORDS you can guess, and write the letter of each numbered blank in its correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. The letters printed in the upper-right-hand corners of the squares indicate from what WORD a particular square's letter comes.

The diagram, when filled in, should read as a quotation from a published work. The dark squares are the spaces between words. If there is no dark square at the end of a line, a word may carry over to the line below.

The first letter of each WORD, reading down, will spell the name of the author and the title of the work from which the quotation is taken.

You should find yourself seeing words and phrases taking form in the diagram; so you can work back and forth, from WORDS to diagram and from diagram to WORDS, until the diagram is filled in.

CLUES

A. Boxing champion, lightweight, 1933–35; welterweight, 1935–38 (full name)

B. Divination by the use of numbers

C. Republican senator from Utah, 1903–33

D. Dried root, the source of emetine

E. American author (1851–98), son-in-law of Nathaniel Hawthorne

F. Spiteful, malicious

G. Declamatory, fustian; full, rich

H. Pigs' feet, for instance

I. Locks

J. Eases off (2 wds.)

K. Ruler of a people, tribe, or nation

L. Expert, proficient

M. Peninsular region, east Canada (comp.)

WORDS

54 100 124 143 165 12 33 58 71 81

108 134 162 181 2 36 49 62 82 91

96 161 183 195 215

80 155 185 4 35 104

106 113 130 172 200 8 24

32 120 131 158 55

63 98 153 171 188 203 46

67 139 187 207 1 14 30 50

78 149 199 223 6 29 51

60 70 88 121 196 17

20 39 57 87 129 159 177 190

198 221 10 97 127 168 43 76 94

145 156 65 167 220 61 83 178 5 109 75

42 114 137

CLUES

N. Expecting a child (4 wds.)

O. Conjectured

P. Holes, tight spots (2 wds.)

Q. Spieler, spouter, haranguer (comp.)

R. Vanquished

S. Spot where the ulnar nerve passes the internal condyle of the humerus (2 wds.)

T. Mortal

U. Link

V. Yellow apple maturing in late autumn (2 wds.)

W. "What Can a Young ___": Burns poem

X. Flaws

Y. 1939 Nelson Eddy–Jeanette MacDonald film

Z. Multitudes

WORDS

179 13 40 90 99 191 150 9 103 210 146

136 166 160

170 59 86 122 157 212 68

79 192 216 16 34 147 7 72

144 73 116 219 132 123 84 180 209 22

25 211 45 197 48 92 15 105 193 218 152

194 66 119 151 107 164 202 175 23

115 18 41 27 128 148 205 53 184

102 117 163 93 176

189 21 111 85 3 37 74 89 217 110 173 186

213 47 56 201 174 140

182 101 19 135 11 154 125 141 44 214 95

169 31

138 208 52 118 64 112 133 38 26 222 77

28 69 206 126 142 204

Answer to *Double-Crostic No. 101* appears on page 55.

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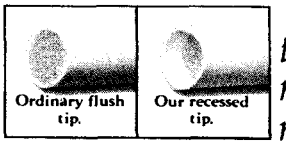

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Parliament

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100's: 17 mg. "tar," 1.0 mg. nicotine
av. per cigarette, FTC Report Apr. '76

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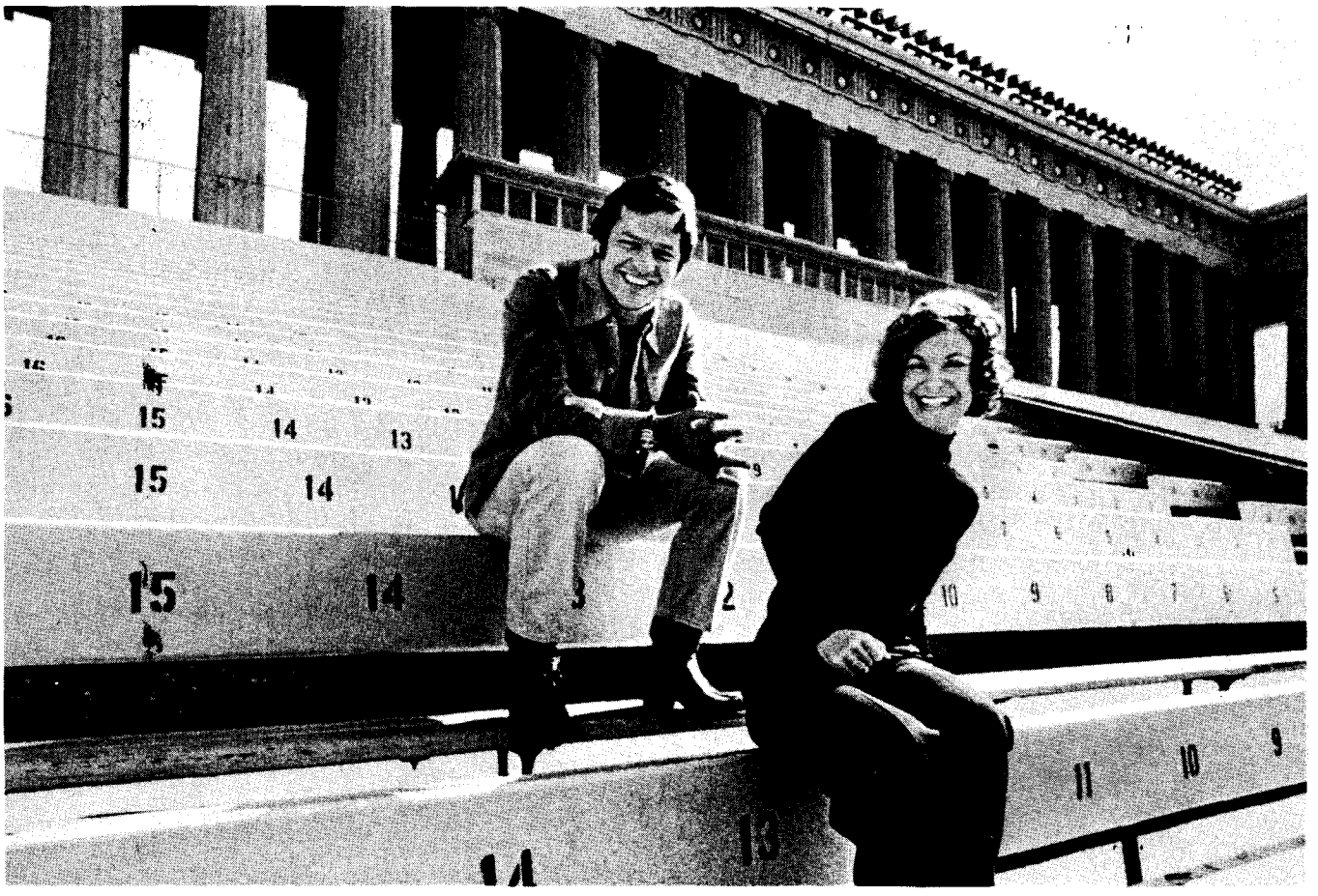

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PROFESSION: Writing/Broadcasting

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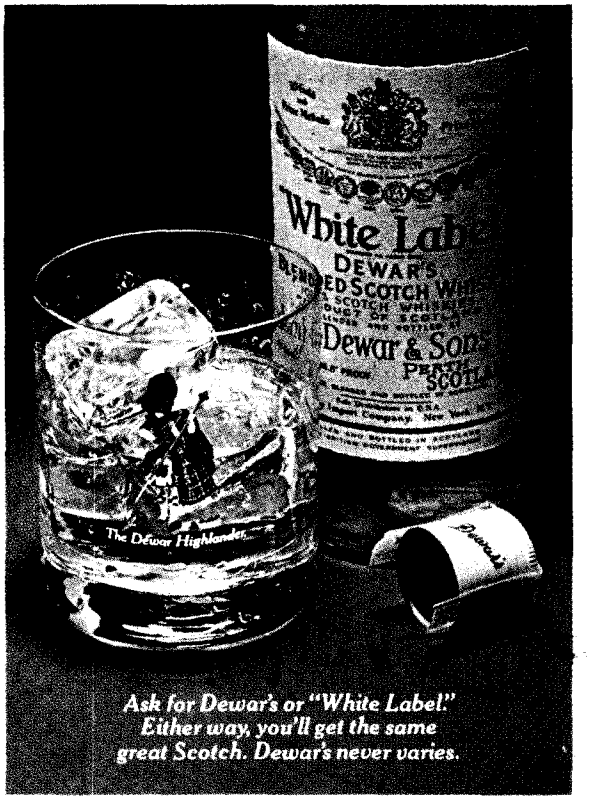

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